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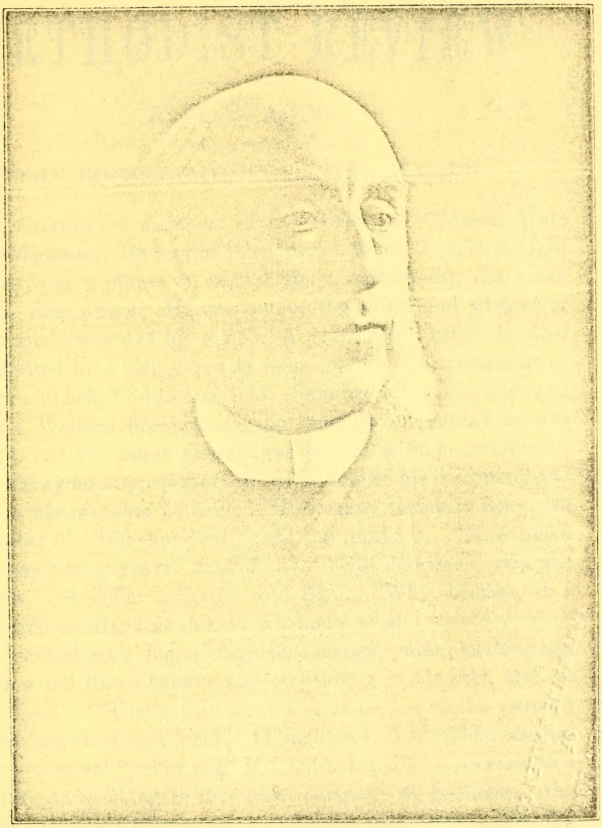

William V. Kelley

METHODIST REVIEW

JULY. 1920

"THE SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS"*

Mr. Chairman, members of the Society of Colonial Wars and invited guests: By way of introduction to my thought to-night I will tell you a story—a capital story—concerning the noted evangelist, Sam Jones. He was one of the wisest and wittiest of men, but sometimes met his match. A year or two before he died he was invited by a clergyman to come up into the mountains of Tennessee and help him in a revival. Sam had a heart as wide and warm as a Western fireplace and he went up. One day he was preaching, and the dingy church was packed with mountaineers, when suddenly he stopped short in the middle of his discourse, and turning to the preacher he said: "How many members have you here, brother?" "Six hundred," said the minister. "How much do they pay you a year?" said Jones. "Six hundred," said the clergyman. "A dollar a head," said Sam. "Why, brother, if I had a church as stingy as this do you know what I would do with them? I would get a dog, a long, lean, mangy, yaller, sucking-egg dog, with a tail like a banana and cockel-burs in his ears, and set him on them." "That's just what I've done," said the parson; "now sick 'em, Sam, sick 'em!" (Laughter.) I would be meaner than the proverbial "yaller dog" if I did not highly appreciate this opportunity of speaking to this select company of gentlemen who have combined their forces and pooled their influences to keep the fires of patriotism burning on the high altar of national devotion. I feel honored to stand here and speak to you on such a theme as this. It is said that it takes a poet to read poetry and to appreciate poesy. The colonial patriots were idealists, and it takes idealists

* Address by Bishop Robert McIntyre, delivered in Minneapolis, Dec. 22, 1910, and reported stenographically.

to appreciate them. They were heroes, and it takes heroes to appreciate them. They were path-finders, and it takes path-finders to appreciate them. You have set yourselves to a glorious task; I give you high praise, and having put your hands to this plow I pray you may turn a clean furrow and never look back. May God bless you in all your noble endeavors!

An orator who attempts to speak on a theme which remotely touches war is in danger of displeasing two men. They may be here to-night; they may be offended in me. One of them is the man who must have politics mixed with all military speeches, and who is bitterly disappointed unless his shade of partisanship comes to the fore; but the speaker who does that makes a blunder as great as a Chicago musician did a few years ago. A prominent politician died in that great city and, like most of his breed, died poor, but his friends resolved to give him a big funeral, so they sent out collectors to raise the money. One of them entered the office of a grumbly attorney and said, "I want a dollar from you." "What for?" "To bury a prominent politician." "A dollar," said the crusty lawyer, "to bury a prominent politician? Here are ten dollars; go and bury ten of them!" There was no trouble in raising the money for that purpose. They soon had enough. Among other things they hired a band to play along the street and in the burial ground. At the side of the grave the leader said to his musicians, "When the coffin is going down during the committal service we will play this dirge, No. 23, and I want it played soft and low." Everything was moving along nicely. Through the reluctant fingers of the friends the coffin-straps were slipping, the politician was going to his long sleep in the windowless house of rest. The crowd stood around in silence; the widow sobbed and wept and the music wailed faint, and soft, and low, when, just at the tenderest chord of all, a little fat Dutchman who blew the trombone let a blast out of his instrument which shook the earth. The horses attached to the hearse ran away, the widow fainted, the casket went down with a jolt, and the leader stopped playing and ran to smite him, saying, "What do you mean by such a burst as that?" The culprit held up his music-book tremblingly and said, "I thought that was a note, but it was a horse-fly."

(Laughter.) While he was playing a horse-fly lit on his book—and he took it for a big note and blew it and ruined the whole thing utterly. Now if I should introduce the buzzing, irritating horse-fly of partisan politics into a smooth-flowing eulogy of the colonial patriots, how utterly I would spoil it! I will do no such thing.

The other man who may be disgruntled at my talk is the man who says, "There should be no such society as this. Everything pertaining to war should be forgotten. There should be no Marching-through-Georgia songs, no camp-fire reunions, no reciting of the Iliads of the past, no bringing up of buried scenes of carnage; these things tear open the old wounds; they revive ancient enmities; they work mischief and harm and nothing else," and he often says, in his highest flights, "Let the whole record of all the wars of all the world be buried." If you will look up his record in the last war you will see that it ought to be buried (laughter) and very deep; buried as the old woman wanted her mean husband buried: face down, so that if he ever woke up, and tried to dig out, the more he scratched the deeper he would go. (Renewed laughter.) If that man is represented in this room to-night he will probably be rasped by some of the things that I shall say; for I believe that there have been good wars, manly wars—holy wars, if you please—and I believe such wars were God's providential methods for forwarding civilization and speeding the evolution of the human race. And I don't know that they are all done yet. There certainly are unholy wars, mercenary wars, aggressive wars, brutal wars, but we do not celebrate these. We are thinking of the wars which cleared the way for progress in the western world, and of all the stout-hearted warriors who gave all they had that this land of ours might offer hope and opportunity to the oppressed of all the earth.

Not knowing what line of argument would be desired or acceptable here, never having spoken at a society of this sort, or even attended one of its banquets, I was a little dubious as to the direction which I ought to take in my remarks, so in order to be safe, I told Brother White [Secretary of the Society] that I would choose as my topic your title and then I couldn't go far astray if I stuck to my text: "The Society of Colonial Wars."

The first emphatic word is "Society," and it is a great word, as deep as the roots of the sea, though it is often used lightly. Let us study it a moment.

The truest poet we now have is a Californian, an unschooled man but gifted with a divine vision—Joaquin Miller. When he first burst into view he astonished the critics of America and of Great Britain. Nearly all of them praised him and many of them loved him, but a few of them censured him, and one or two very savagely. Not being widely read, or deeply learned, he was naturally limited in his scope, and he had a few pet thoughts and one or two favorite words which he used over and over again and they made the most of this fact. One of them, in order to "rub" it into the struggling bard, in a review of his book, said: "This man is an undeniable genius, but he cheapens his wares by descending to the pitiful trick of repeating, repeating, repeating;" and then to *burn* it into the cells of the poor fellow's brain he said, "He repeats and repeats and repeats." And Miller came back in his next poem with an answer which I have heard a great poet say is the finest reply in English literature. He goes on in some verses of defense and then strikes this:

> "There never were measures as true as the sun,
> And the sea has a song that is passingly sweet,
> And yet they 'repeat, and repeat, and repeat,'
> And the same old tunes through the new years run."

Said the poet to me, when I read this to him, "Isn't that marvelous? Miller pushes the sea and the sun in front of him and hides behind them and says to his enemies, 'You must demolish Nature before you can attack me, for I learned this from the cosmos; the whole universe is my bulwark and I am only doing what Nature does every day.'"

The man who bases his work on Nature's laws is safe. That is what you have done in organizing this society, for society is built on natural law. A critic might say, "If a man wants to emulate the virtues of the Colonialists, why not let him do it? Why must he join a society for that purpose and have a secretary and treasurer and banquets and meetings and songs and speeches?

Why can he not go about his individual business and in his own heart worship and exalt these men who laid down the corner-stones of this republic?" That critic is unscientific. That is not the normal method. The natural plan taught by the creation round us is this: When a man wants to do a thing his first business is to find another man who wants to do the same thing, and then they two will find another, and so on, until they have a company and are able to prove the ancient maxim, "United we stand; divided we fall." They have increased their influence geometrically; they cannot now be broken, as in the old fable of the bundle of sticks which could be snapped separately but resisted the giant's force when bound together. This is nature's ordinance. Nature abhors singleness. Look up into the sky to-night, when you start home, and in the spangled arch of that glorious firmament you will not find one star moving alone. Systems, clusters, constellations, zodiacs, all tied together. If one of those orbs should start out independently we would instantly have firmamental anarchy and the wreck of worlds. Go look into the sea and you will find the same thing, schools of fishes in the blue of the deep. I looked through the glass bottom of the boat at the Catalina Islands, off the coast of Southern California, and I saw the denizens of the ocean swimming beneath me in myriads—very rarely indeed could I find one alone; shoals of them, swarms of them, companies of them, regiments of them, battalions of them, armies of them. Sometimes I could not see the bottom of the ocean for the multitude of them going together, moving by one impulse, great tribes of the finny people of the sea. Go out on the plain and see God's cattle, the shaggy buffalo; only a few crippled or sick ones will be found alone, the vital and aggressive buffaloes will be in herds. Go on to the Eastern prairies in the ancient days and see the red deer moving in droves, in herds, never alone, always together. Society is Nature's law—get together. Get together, you who feel the same, you who think the same, you who do the same, get together.

And, more than this, it reaches out beyond the natural into the supernatural. In the Book of Revelation, when Jesus Christ speaks to St. John he sends messages to the seven churches in Asia. "Church" in the Bible never means a building, it always

means a society that meets in a building. There is no authority in the Book for calling the building a church, it is the congregation of the people who meet there. So there is our Lord sending his word to the religious people of Asia Minor and thus confirming them in having societies. And, furthermore, at this Christmastide the heavens are opening, and in two or three days we shall hear the angels' song above the shepherds' fields by Bethlehem, that little Syrian town. And we find that this law which formed your association runs upward into the ranks of the seraphs, for the record reads thus: When the angel—the first angel, no doubt some tall white archangel—had made all the hillside glorious with his advent and proclaimed the birth of Jesus in the little town nearby, saying, "Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord," then "suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men!'"—the society of the angels of Heaven! And this law, which runs through the fishes of the sea to the sinless hierarchy of the sky, is God's cosmic law. We are interdependent, knitted and woven heart to heart and hand to hand. You have, therefore, done the natural thing, and you have used the proper word—Society. You are on a broad foundation. Brethren, stand fast. You have started right.

The second emphatic word is Colonial—Colonial Wars. That is an unusual word. We rarely hear of the colonial; and that is another eloquent reason for your existence. We hear a lot about the Revolution, a great deal about the Civil War, and considerable about the Spanish War, but we have very little given us concerning the Colonial Wars. In fact, the average scholar of our public school skims over this important period and most of them in mature life seem to think that our nation began entirely in 1776.

There is in our State [Minnesota] a beautiful lake that is known the world over—Itasca—said to be the fountain-head of the greatest river of the North American continent; but those who have been there tell us that Itasca itself is fed by streams from other

lakes and gathers in the waters from other springs. I was brought up near a room which is supposed to be the Itasca of American liberty—as indeed it is; that marvelous apartment in the old State House of Philadelphia. There the bell that rang the birth of the baby nation in the wilds of the West, and wakened the world to hear the story, was mounted on a wooden platform, and on Saturdays, when we schoolboys were free, in the beautiful weather of May and June we gathered wild flowers from the meadows and the woods and carried our buttercups and our violets down into the city and tossed them through the railing on that sacred old bell. I often looked around the room at the pictured faces of the fathers of our nation and said to my own boyish soul, "Here is the fountain-head, here is the gushing spring, here is the beginning, the Itasca Lake of the Mississippi of our national patriotism." Here it welled up, here it sprang forth, here it gushed out and has widened and greatened ever since. But when I was older I learned that there never would have been any Revolutionary War but for the sacrifices and the heroism of the colonial patriots. They made ready for its coming. That great crisis did not drop down out of the blue ether or spring up from the stratified earth. That is not the Almighty's plan. In the making of a nation, as in the making of a tree or of a man, there is growth and steady development, one stage leads to another, and the roots of all we have go down into the days of the Indian wars, of the struggles against oppression, of the protests against tyranny, of the preparation for that sublime upheaval that broke the New World loose from the Old, plucked thirteen colonies from the Crown and cut forever the knot that bound us to Great Britain. So you are bringing these men to their due, you are giving them justice.

I used to keep beside my dressing-case, where I could read it every morning, a bit from one of the speeches of Lincoln with his homely, sad, prophetic face printed on the card. It inspired me every day. Referring to the Constitution of the United States were these utterances: "Give hope not to Americans alone, but to all mankind, the whole world round, that in some coming day the burdens will be lifted from their shoulders and every soul on earth shall possess the glorious heritage of freedom." That was

Lincoln's outlook. Not this land, not yours only, not Asia and Africa only, but all people on earth were to feel the influence of the American democracy and the Declaration of Independence. He, with his deep insight, saw that it was a "leaven hid in the lump" that by and by would permeate the whole mass of humanity, white and black and brown and red and yellow, and all the progeny of Adam should share in its benediction. That is just like Lincoln. No pent-up Utica could confine his power, and he saw that the gospel of freedom, as instituted here, would, by and by, shake down all monarchy.

The world grows smaller every day. With wireless telegraph, and ocean cables, five-day steamships and aeroplanes in the clouds, it is all one neighborhood now; every part of it is explored and there are no isolated, or exclusive, or hermit people. On this little globe there is no room for two opposite forms of government. Monarchy and democracy are in a death-grapple and one or the other must pass away. Which shall it be? We talk sometimes of war with Europe. Bless your hearts, we are at war with them all the time, a silent, relentless, remorseless war, in which there is no quarter ever given; not a war of bayonets but of ideas, not a war of bullets but of principles, and these righteous principles will, as long as we advance, spread throughout the whole earth. A few years ago there was only one republic in Europe, now there are three, and he who lives ten years will see five. Slowly but irresistibly, the Jeffersonian principles of human equality and fraternity, of equal rights and open opportunity, are being spread over the lands. That is what Lincoln saw. Now, why should we desire to give our principles of government to the whole race? For the reason that we got them from the whole earth. I said the Revolution was a biologic efflorescence; it was the blossoming of a root that went deep and had been watered long and sorrowfully. Did you ever see the aloe flower, the century plant, growing in the Mexican desert? For a hundred years it drinks the generous juices from the sand, and revels in the precipitate downpour of the solar radiance, and during all that long, long epoch it is a stern, a harsh, a thorny, a cruel thing. There seems nothing lovely in it. But one day you ride past on your pony and you see a transformation.

Deep in the spiked heart of that wretched-looking growth, God, the great Weaver, has been sitting at his loom, throwing the creative shuttle through the vegetable warp and weaving a glorious web of flowers, and lo, in the week that you have been absent it has lifted a Corinthian shaft, white as polished marble, twenty feet into the air, and on it there is a floating island of bloom so beautiful, so fair, that tears come into your eyes as you gaze thereon, and you say, with trembling lips as you take off your hat and sit there in its wondrous presence, "How could God Almighty ever think of anything as exquisite as that?" They tell us that Betsy Ross made the first American flag by the direction of Washington. Betsy Ross, the Philadelphia widow, only made the body of the American flag. Like everything else that has life, it has a body and a soul, and no man, no woman, made the soul of the American flag; it is an evolution, it is a growth, it is the blossom on the thorny cactus of the centuries. It is the flower of the spiked and cruel ages of the past, and every hero of the colonies, every reformer of the days gone by, every martyr of Europe, every warrior who rotted in the dungeon's gloom or climbed the gallows stair to die for the rights of man watered it with his blood and wet the roots of it with his tears, and when at last on our new shore the grand old growth lifted its flower in the air, we shouted for joy, and named it Old Glory, the banner of the free! (Applause.) But it is not ours alone. It was growing for a thousand, two thousand, three thousand years, through all the sorrowful epochs, in the dim and dreadful old ages of the rack and the whip, and the starvation and the exiles and the stonings and the floggings and the burnings. All those men had a share in it, and they gave it to us by their hope and by their sorrow. And now that we have it, what shall we do with it? When all the political riches of all the world have come to us, what shall we do with this glorious banner? Shall we wrap it round our prosperous bodies like a silken coverlid and "lie down to pleasant dreams"? No, no! If we are true to the men who planted it in the dim twilight of human tradition, to those who nursed it, and cherished it, who watered and fed it, we will carry it up to the highest peak, and on the loftiest pinnacle in our land we will fling its folds out on the loving winds that will lift

it high as a beacon to all the earth and say, "Come, come up to this; come up to a nobler level of living and of loving. Come up to honor, to equality, to manhood and to womanhood, to nobility and grandeur and God!"

So you honor yourselves when you make the world know that the roots of that great growth run back to colonial days and beyond. There would have been no Revolution if it had not been for the revolutionists before the Revolution; there would have been no Continentals if it had not been for the continentals before the Continentals. They whom you praise made ready for the coming of all that we now enjoy. If ever we forget them we are guilty of black ingratitude, and in the hour that we do forget them God will forget us. He who cuts himself loose from the past, he who forgets, in the sordid pleasures of the present, the renunciations, the martyrdoms and sacrifices of the past, is not worthy to enjoy the fruits of the labors of those who went before him.

"Colonial Wars!" I now come to the most important word of all. But the word "wars" is rather nebulous and indefinite. Let me make a paraphrase that will bring it closer to our vision: "The deeds of the Colonial soldier." Your society, as I understand it, is organized to carry forward, to generations yet unborn, the spirit, the valor, and the principles of the colonial soldier; the man who fought in the first wars.

The colonial soldier was not different in essence from other American soldiers. He lived earlier, but faced sterner conditions; his environment was harsher, but if you could cleave his heart you would find the same kind of blood that you have found in the arteries of every American hero. What, then, does he stand for? What is the charm of the soldier? What is that nameless spell that clothes the warrior, which we civilians can never know? and very few of us can ever understand it, though we all feel it and we all see it.

First, the soldier is, above all other men in our land, a witness to the greatness of our democracy, and he is the only witness, the only living proof, that this is a nation—and not what some foreigners call it, a mercenary rabble of States. How can we disprove their criticism?

What is it that makes a nation great? You hear the orator, on the Fourth-of-July stump, fuming and sweating, and saying, "Look at this great nation of ours, bounded on the north by the Aurora Borealis, on the south by the equator, on the east by the rising sun, and on the west by the day of judgment! Look at this great nation of ours!" The man doesn't use words properly; he means *big* nation, not great. Bigness and greatness are two different things. We have a big nation, but no man will ever prove its greatness by pointing to its acres. These two words are so different that ancient history does not show one nation that was both big and great. I am not saying that we are not both big and great, but I am saying that, if we are, we are the first. There were only two really great nations in the olden time, and both of them were small—in extent of empire. One of them, the Greek nation, was so great that it still rules the brain of the world, and the days of Pericles have never since been matched for intellectual supremacy. The other one, the Jewish nation, was smaller yet, but it still rules the soul of the world and leads the progressive people of the globe to-night. Both of these nations were so small that neither of them was as big as an American county. They never had bigness, but they had greatness. And we will never make men believe that we are great by telling how vast we are, what millions of acres or what extent of territory we possess—never; we are on the wrong track.

But another will say, "Look at our soil, so wondrously rich, to bring forth bread and meat for all mankind." We have rich soil, no doubt about that. I have read of places in Minnesota where the soil was so fertile that the farmers couldn't grow pumpkins at all, because the vines grew so fast they wore out the pumpkins dragging them around the field. (Laughter.) I grant all that has ever been claimed for the fertility of our soil. And even our deserts, you know, are likely now to become as productive as our prairies. Have you heard of the latest victory of the horticultural wizard, Burbank, of Santa Rosa, California? He has a new plant, called the "potono," which will grow in the driest land without irrigation. They say he has crossed the potato and the onion and produced a hybrid or mongrel plant wherein the

odor of the onion affects the eyes of the potato, and it weeps water enough to irrigate itself. (Laughter.) So that soon we will have vegetation everywhere. Let me tell you this will never make us great. The juiciest strip of this earth is Egypt. My friend has recently been there who sits across the table. He will bear me witness that the land in the vicinity of the Nile bears three crops every year. It has never failed them for a thousand years. With that fertilizing river and that everlasting summer they know no failure, and the land is as rich now as it was in the days of Moses or Joseph. And yet Egypt, with all its growing, went down in an oblivion so deep and so dark that we are turning over the broken lintels of her gates to spell from those hieroglyphics the history of the dead mother of the world. With all her growing she could not grow men. Let no one deceive you with the saying that cotton is king, or corn is king, or coal is king, or gold is king. Man alone is king! and the nation that can grow godly men and virtuous women will abide, and the nation which cannot grow these will pass as other nations have passed, like the frost-pictures on the pane, and will be forgotten forever.

But another will say, "Maybe our climate will make us great." Oh, we have all kinds of climate in this country. I have lived in places in America where they have no climate, nothing but samples of weather. (Laughter.) I have run the whole gamut until I lived in Southern California, where "Summer sits on her throne smiling at you the twelvemonth round." When I lived in Denver the Colorado people used to brag about their climate, and it was marvelous. They told of a man who came there from Minnesota having, as the doctor said, only one lung, and that man is living there yet and now has three. (Laughter.) He married two of them! (Renewed laughter.) The Californians boast about their climate. They tell of a man from Iowa who wrote back, when he had been there a year, "I feel ten years younger;" and he wrote back six months later and said, "I feel twenty years younger;" in the next letter, five or six months later, "I feel twenty-five years younger." They heard no more from him, and by and by a man from that country visited his town in Iowa and asked about him, and they said, "Didn't you hear about Mr.

Inbad? Why, he has been dead two years; yes, sir, dead; he died of cholera infantum!" (Laughter.) There are just as good climates as ours in other parts of the world.

And another will say, "Well, our resources." How much we hear of that to-day. Will our resources make us great? Look at our livestock, look at our machinery, look at our railroads, look at our banks, look at our infinite, measureless resources! An orator was getting this off in the presence of a man from Missouri, not long ago, and when he stopped the Missourian got up and said: "I want you to know that our State has some resources too." He says, "If all the chickens in Missouri were one chicken it could straddle the Rocky Mountains and crow until it shook the rings out of the planet Saturn, and if all the hogs in Missouri were one hog it could plant its hind hoofs on Cuba and its forehoofs on Central America, and with one thrust of its snout it could dig the Panama canal from ocean to ocean; and if all the mules in Missouri were one mule when it moved forward it could pull the Himalaya Mountains out by the roots, and when it moved rearward it could kick the back door out of all creation!" (Laughter.)

Grant all that ever was claimed for area, soil, climate, resources, these never made a nation; never. Man and woman make a nation, and there is no other way of making a nation. No matter how poor the country—if they lived on a volcanic island in the center of the sea and drank ditch-water and ate corn-pone—if they loved God and humanity, and were full of valor and courage and sacrifice, it would be a great nation. That is what we must work for. Men of vision, men of ideals, men of courage, men of valor, that is what we must grow here if we are to endure.

And here is the veteran soldier who bears witness that we, in the time of need, had true men when the nation called. Many visitors from across the brine are telling us that we are mercenary, sordid, commercialized dollar-grabbers; that is all we are; that is all we dream or think of. But here is the living witness to the disproof of that. I can remember the time when the so-called mercenary Americans forgot that there was such a thing as a dollar and went forward to suffer and march and fight and die for

thirteen dollars a month, paid in depreciated currency which took three dollars in paper to buy one dollar in gold. Don't talk to me about Americans being mercenary; that is superficial talk, that is blind talk, that is the talk of people who are ignorant and prejudiced and know not the facts. We who can remember the month of June, 1861, when Lincoln faced northward, after looking at his task in Washington, when he saw the navy flung across the seven seas, and the little army away out on the Indian frontier, the treasury empty, and the leaders gone off, and every nation on earth against us but one, when he turned his sad face to them, and said, "Young man, it is the hour of destiny, God has need of you now." We remember the answer. It began the next morning away down in Maine. Mingled with the roar of the Atlantic as it hurled its blue green billows on that iron coast, 'twas the answer of the Pine Tree State: "We are coming!" And Vermont's granite quarries swelled it; New Hampshire's granite hills made reply; Massachusetts' populous cities tossed it up; New York echoed it again; the Ohio farms swelled it louder; and through the pines of Michigan along the opulent crystal of the northern lakes it ran, into the Hoosier valleys of Indiana, and over the prairies of Illinois, until it leaped the Mississippi; and Iowa's uplands, Nebraska's plains and Kansas' cornlands swelled it higher, and tossed it up to the snowy stairs of the Rockies, and down it swept to where our banner dips its fringes in the sunset seas, one mighty shout of a nation, rising in its strength, saying,

> "We're coming, Father Abraham,
> Three hundred thousand strong,"

and out of camp and mine and school and shop and store and office the best of the world's best came to lay themselves upon the high altar as a sacrifice that the nation might endure forever! I say if you cut the American heart, like a pomegranate, to the crimson core, in the blood-red center, you will find not the dollar, but the banner of the Union there enshrined! (Applause.) I say that he is the evidence that we are a nation, that in the hour of sacrifice we are ready. The soldier is the witness. We have no other. You and I prate about patriotism, but we have never

been tested. Here is the living incarnation of the truth that America has a solidarity of patriotism and is ready to face anything that comes; for what the fathers did in olden time the sons can do to-day, if you are true to your task and educate them in the story of the thrilling past.

Again: I say the soldier is our aristocrat. You have heard it affirmed that America has no aristocracy, but that is a mistake. We have no aristocracy of birth, but every land must have an aristocracy. There are certain people in every country who will rise to the top and certain who will sink to the bottom. Every people has its cream and has its dregs, and we are no exception. We have an aristocracy, but it is an aristocracy of deeds, an aristocracy of endeavor, an aristocracy of renunciation.

What are the marks of an aristocracy? They are called special privileges, and the only man in this country who has any special privileges is the soldier, and he has many. First of all, he has money privileges. Every three months, down into every remote post-office in our land, in lonely mining camps, and where the ranchers come together at the crossroads, in the timber, and in the villages and in the cities, the checks from grateful Uncle Sam flutter down into the tremulous hands of the white-haired heroes of the '60's, the men who won their deathless fame in the dark days of the Civil War. Money, pensions gladly given, heaps of millions, and more to come. He has another special privilege which means much. He has a day of his own. He is the only man in America who halts every wheel. His is the 30th of May. The President and the Governors of the States say, "Lock every door, throw off every belt and stop every pulley, hush everything that whirs; go out to the burial ground and lay the memorial wreath upon the low green tents whose curtains never outward swing." And we are proud to obey. He is the only man in this country that has a day, and he is our nobleman. He gets the chance, the invitation, to push his hand down into the national treasury and take out what he needs. He gets one day in the busy year of the most restless and aggressive nation that Time ever saw. And then in his old age we have lovely homes for him. No poorhouse waits for him, no almshouse sees him, no beggar's fare feeds him, no

straw cot rests him, no pauper's burial awaits him. No, sir. Under the palms and the roses at Santa Monica by the sea, or where laughing Minnehaha flashes and flows, we build beautiful homes and make soft beds and provide good food, and clothe him warmly and honor him. He has his special money, his special day, his special home, his special grave kept green by the affection of a nation. He is the man we exalt and do ourselves high honor in following him. Now, why all this? Simply because he is the man who made the great surrender. Let me put that in the words of the supreme speaker, the greatest master of assemblies that our nation ever knew, Abraham Lincoln. In his letter to Mrs. Bixby he struck this note, and when he strikes it let us all listen, for no one can strike it as well.

Mrs. Bixby was the widow in New England who sent five boys into the army and they were all killed. This is the greatest letter written in the Civil War. There were over three millions of letters written on both sides, but they are all dead now, all lost, all buried, but Lincoln's letter lived and will live forever. It is strange that everything this man did he did better than anyone else. Many men died to voice the principles of the war on both sides, but all they uttered is silenced now except one speech at the Gettysburg dedication. Many a man, from the first President down to President Taft, has tried to write something that would live in his inaugural. They all have done their best—and it is a long list now—but there is only one inaugural that is alive. Stop any statesman on Pennsylvania Avenue in the national capital and say, "Which is the greatest document in the archives?" and he will say, "Lincoln's second inaugural." There is the Hebrew prophet's mount of vision; there is the thunder of the heavens; there is the immortal utterance. And so with this letter, which was quickened with that strange immortality, that deathless energy, that celestial virtue that he was able to put into his work. Every American ought to have this letter framed and hung up in his room.

"Mrs. Bixby,

"Dear Madam: I have seen a statement in the War Department which says that you are the mother of five sons who died gloriously on the field

of battle. I can but feel how weak and how fruitless must be the words of one who should seek to win you from your grief for a loss so overwhelming, but I cannot refrain from tendering you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the nation they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your great bereavement and leave you naught but the tender memories of the loved and the lost, and that solemn pride which must be yours, to have laid so great a sacrifice upon the altar of liberty. Your friend,

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

(Applause.)

There is the note I am trying to sound. These soldier boys with solemn pride laid the great sacrifice—their wives, their mothers, their fathers, laid the great sacrifice—with solemn pride upon the altar of liberty.

We sometimes say the soldier serves his nation, but we wrong him. The soldier does not serve his nation. The governor serves his nation, the senator serves his nation, the congressman serves his nation, the President serves his nation, but we have no pensions for these. We have no memorial days for these, we have no old-age homes for these. The soldier does not serve his nation. The soldier renounces himself for his nation. While these others were serving their nation they were prospering themselves, but while the soldier was serving his nation he was sacrificing himself. He makes good the great word spoken by one who gazed on the cross of Christ, "He saved others; himself he cannot save." They made the great surrender. Therefore the soldier is the tallest man; therefore the soldier is the grandest man; therefore the soldier is the representative man. And the heart of the race is sound when it coronates the warrior and laureates the hero, for he makes the great gift; he offers the high sacrifice. And the word War is, as you use it, a glorious one, and I bid you God speed in all your efforts to continue the blessed influence of those heroes of old, for we are doing in our degree in these "piping times of peace" what they did in a more stirring era: we are breaking chains, we are opening prison doors, we are helping multitudes yet the whole earth round. From us heavenly influences are blessing the human race. Prayers are going up for this Republic from a million hearthstones in Europe, for there is not a family on the other side

but has some kinsman or relative here, and they are all praying, "God bless big-hearted, cheery, hospitable, generous, loving America, where our friends can go, and our children find an opportunity!" And let this music ring in your ears, for it is the most charming sound I know.

What is the sweetest sound in all this earth, my friends? Is it the clink of the ice on a wine-goblet's brink at a banquet where old friends meet? Sweeter than that.

Is it a flute on a moonlit lake where every mossy crag makes answer to the strain? Sweeter than that.

Is it the song of the sailor swinging in the halyards, under the blossoming stars, chanting homeward "Ahoy!"? Sweeter than that.

Is it the minstrelsies of the Blacks, in the rice-swamps, when the day is done, lilting those melodies that make your heart like wax within your breast? Sweeter than that.

Is it the queen of the opera taking up the jeweled audience of a great city to heaven's gate with the magic of her art? Sweeter than that.

Is it Ole Bull with his gray head on his violin drawing that diamond bow dripping with silvery notes at every stroke? Sweeter than that.

Is it the laughter of your own baby boy when you toss him into the plum-blossoms in June and catch him chuckling in your arms? Sweeter than that. The sweetest sound in earth or heaven, the sound that hushes all the harps and lutes of the angels in the glory world and bids them lean and listen, is the din of broken shackles falling from the slaves; and with this music in our ears let us go on. As religious chains, governmental chains, social chains, financial chains fall off, America leads the world forward to liberty and life! (Great applause.)

KIPLING'S WORLD MESSAGE

In the period of unparalleled change and of political and social upheaval which the world has been passing through during the past forty years it is likely that the moral message of Kipling, his interpretation of things in their relation to life and conduct, as found in his verse particularly, will remain as the best index to their historical registering. For history in the final issue is not a mere record of facts, however exactly and minutely rendered on the printed page with the cold objectivity of scientific method. In the last issue history is epical; the story of human heroism and endeavor, of moral conflict, of issues that interest the human heart. And just here Kipling is strong and uncompromising. He speaks as a partisan of the forces of goodness and of righteousness, as a warm patriot and no flabby "internationalist," as one proud of the flag, the Union Jack, under which he was born, and sympathetically proud of the other flag, the Stars and Stripes, under which his life-partner was born. His well-known phrase, "The White Man's Burden," is supposed by too many Americans to have only an Asiatic flavor and to be of immediate interest merely to the Anglo-Indian. In fact the poem which bears the title, and was published some twenty years ago, was addressed to this country when by the treaty of Paris, signed December 10, 1898, the United States took over the responsibility of giving better rule and conditions of life to the peoples of Cuba and the Philippines. Originally undertaken because of Spanish misrule in the West Indies, the war would have been in vain had the islands been handed over to the oppressors, yet there was no provision in our constitution for accepting any such imperial responsibilities as this country has borne now for many years. The only plea was the final one of a moral and religious call, and upon this does the poet insist. Here is its message: There is a duty to be undertaken, and only the very best in the nation dare take it in hand.

> **"Take up the white man's burden—**
> **Send forth the best ye breed."**

It will be a troublesome and thankless task to uplift these sullen and half-civilized folk, a task requiring patience and magnanimity; for

> "When your goal is nearest,
> The end for others sought,
> Watch Sloth and heathen Folly
> Bring all your hope to naught."

Flabby "altruism," which enters upon humanitarian duties from a mere emotional kindliness, and is easily disgusted and disheartened by ingratitude, will not be equal to the task; a higher call is imperative. This call will mean exile and severe duties for those who follow the light; a constant strain on their patience and forbearance. At the risk of their own lives, they will have to supply food to the needy and to care for the sick and the dying, bringing all the appliances of modern science to remove the causes of sickness and death. The mission will be one not of haughty superiority, but of humble service. The recipients of their bounty will too often be not only ungrateful, but even resentful; and they must have a worthier stimulus than mere gratitude or appreciation. The higher life is a burden and not freedom! for freedom is often little more than a cloak for impatience and querulousness. The easily pleased child may look for the winning of a prize and the clapping of a sympathetic audience, but the life of the grown-up person faces sterner conditions and less kindly judges. The final judgment rests with the Divine Master whom they serve; meanwhile the judgment of their peers, the world which looks on critically, may be coldly disappointing:

> "Take up the White Man's burden;
> Have done with childish days—
> The lightly-proffered laurel,
> The easy, ungrudged praise;
> Comes now—to search your manhood
> Through all the thankless years—
> Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom,
> The judgment of your peers!"

Perhaps this last hard saying is true of the South American to-day in his judgment of this country; although the task outlined for the United States by the poet has on the whole been admirably

carried out. Our administration of the Philippine Islands—for two centuries and a half, it may be remarked, an appanage of Mexico and thus attached to our hemisphere—will stand in history as making a fine record in colonial government. What we did for Cuba has not been adequately realized by the Latin-American mind. Our government retired from Cuba after assisting her to self-government, intervened to restore order, and, after this was restored, again retired and left the Cubans to govern themselves so long as they would refrain from disastrous revolutions. And now, some forty years too late, we have been pursuing the same policy in Hayti, where under a Negro republic, with "black ruling white," the horrid old African rites, including human sacrifices, had been resuscitated and the island had become a place where the devil was worshiped. Exports languished, public institutions decayed, former improvements—bridges, roads, harbors—fell into a condition of neglect, the cities were cesspools. Happily in the last few years, when we have assumed the burden, the cities have been cleaned, the roads and bridges have been repaired, the proprieties of life have been restored, and life is on a new and a better basis.

Kipling has little use for the word Freedom as a political catchword, implying blessings wherever it is conferred on a territory or people. Political freedom only too often results in anarchy —surely the calamity of calamities for the civilized. A recent writer, Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons, in dealing with the reconstruction of Asia, in his The New Map of Asia, never uses the phrase, "the white man's burden," except with a sneer, and toys with anarchy as if it were a mere phase of human development. When the "white man's burden" is justified by the immunity it guarantees from anarchy the representative of the "subject race" is made to reply, evidently with the writer's sympathy, "What nation has evolved to self-government except by passing through anarchy, civil wars and revolutions, during which property was destroyed and lives were lost?" But surely anarchy is something much more deadly than mere temporary destruction of property; it is dissolution and decay, from which the only mode of rescue seems to be the iron hand of militarism. Superficial argument of this nature reveals the remarkable fallacy current to-day that evolution upward

is a certain progress in the history of humanity. As if all that wise men have to do is to leave the peoples of the world to work out their own destiny, and let majorities run things! This spurious internationalism—wholly indifferent in the last issue to the deeper moral and religious currents that sway mankind—is at present heedless of the permanent ruin of empires, where the elements of good, which require aid from the outside to survive, are being ruthlessly destroyed. Brought up as Kipling was, in a strongly Evangelical atmosphere, he dislikes intensely this sentimental Rousseau-born conception of internationalism. Methodism may be said to have begun as a protest against such fallacious doctrine, and Kipling's grandfathers on both sides were Methodist preachers.

The traditions of British Methodism are distinctly conservative in the matter of political affiliation, with an insistence on the moral duties of governed and governor. The doctrine that the voice of the people is the voice of God—that the ruler must find out just what the people whom he has been called to protect and develop desire at each particular moment and then give them their desire—found no favor with John Wesley and his successors, Richard Watson and James Dixon, who are in the line of its historic leadership. The last-named was resident at Birmingham and delivering some of his best-known lectures and addresses on Methodism when Alice Macdonald, Kipling's much-loved mother, was a girl in her father's home in the same city. To one address which he gave on the founder of Methodism the active mind of the preacher's daughter must have listened with avidity. Wesley's theology, he declared, was never of the mere salvation-of-the-individual type; it dealt with the wholesome life of the community and the nation. Institutional religion was his ideal. He "was in possession of truths which, though the essential and necessary distinction of the Christian system, were fallen out of sight to such a degree that they seem new and these gave him overwhelming power in the face of the nation itself. To the nation he made his appeal."

Dr. Dixon was well known in this country, having received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Pennsylvania in the year 1843. Four years later he was English repre-

sentative at the General Conference held at Pittsburgh, and wrote a book, Methodism in America, which became quite popular. His son, Richard Watson Dixon, afterward Canon in the Anglican church, and its historian, besides winning fame as a poet, was one of a group of lads in Birmingham who afterward made names for themselves; indeed, without them the great movement in English art which restored the noble spirit of fourteenth century religious idealism—and so termed Pre-Raphaelite—cannot be properly understood. The young folks met in the Macdonald home, where the father, the Rev. George Macdonald, Scotch by name and birth, was a man of literary instincts. He had four talented daughters and a son, later the Rev. F. W. Macdonald and a distinguished Wesleyan preacher, who represented his church at the great gathering at Edinburgh, in 1900, when two of the historic churches of Scotland were united. Among the lads was Edward Burne Jones, who later won a baronetcy because of his triumphs in art; he married one of the Macdonald girls. His friend and associate Sir Edward John Poynter, the distinguished President of the Royal Academy, married another of the sisters. A third, Alice, became the wife of John Lockwood Kipling, son of the Rev. Joseph Kipling, a Wesleyan preacher in Yorkshire and an art student in London before he went out to India. Three of the lads who frequented the Macdonald home, Burne-Jones, Fulford, and Dixon, went up to Oxford and became active in the movement which, under the leadership of Rossetti, Ruskin, and William Morris, won such laurels not only in art but also in literature and in social reconstruction. Few families in England can have been more alive to high idealism than the Macdonald household at Birmingham, so closely in touch as it was with these bright young dreamers, and Rudyard Kipling was to be the inheritor and exponent of these ideals in a different continent and under an Oriental guise.

After the critical period of the Indian Mutiny, when the government passed from the hands of the East India Company into the direct control of the British government, a new system of merit was established for the giving of appointments and the Indian Civil Service offered a career to aspiring young Britons. John Lockwood Kipling secured such an appointment,

married Alice Macdonald, in the year 1865, and sailed for Bombay to be architectural sculptor in the Bombay School of Art. The position he held for ten years, until his transfer to Lahore to be Principal of the Mayo School of Art. Rudyard was their first-born, and Bombay was his early home. It was not until the close of the eighteenth century, when Mahratta aggression had been controlled, that Bombay became of value to Great Britain as the seat of one of her three presidencies. In the year 1869, when Rudyard Kipling was a child of three, the opening of the Suez Canal—the last public act of the Empress Eugénie—greatly enhanced its importance, making it the gateway of the Orient, in immediate touch with Europe as no Eastern city ever before had been. Meanwhile in the back centuries its semi-isolation had preserved in a wonderful way the characteristics of bygone civilizations. In his delineation of the city of his birthplace, to be found in his "Song of the Cities," Kipling alludes to this representative quality:

> "Royal and Dower-royal, I, the Queen,
> Fronting thy richest sea with richer hands—
> A thousand mills roar through me where I glean
> All races from all lands."

Bombay leads among the self-described cities, Calcutta—never a favorite of his—Rangoon and Singapore following. A good description of Bombay will be found in the Life of Lord Dufferin, who arrived in Bombay to assume his duties as Viceroy the very year the poet was beginning to make his mark in literature. The passage is taken from a private letter:

> Our landing in Bombay (early in December, 1884) was really a beautiful sight. . . . The town is situated on an island, or rather on a peninsula, with some picturesque heights and hills standing up around it. The temperature was exquisite, the atmosphere full of light, while balmy breezes prevented it from being too hot. You can easily imagine the scene upon the quay, bright with guards of honor, cavalry escorts, and military and civil dignitaries in uniform; but what it would be impossible for you to conceive was the extraordinary strangeness and beauty of the streets. We had to drive six miles from the landing-stage to Government House, and the road on either side was lined by crowds of men in every sort of costume interspersed with others with scarcely any clothes at all. What was unimaginable was the coloring of the whole. A bed of flowers gives

you no conception of its brilliancy. Nor indeed was brilliancy its chief characteristic, but rather the most delicious harmony—subdued reds and blues and yellows intermingled with a confused mass of dusky limbs and faces and eyes that sparkled like jewels.

The India to which this accomplished statesman came as imperial head—adding Burmah to the imperial possessions—is the India of Kipling. A North of Ireland Protestant—Ulster-Scotch by birth and make-up—the young aristocrat received some wholesome advice from a man whose name became well known in this country, no other than President James McCosh of Princeton, then professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Queen's College, Belfast. The incident is told by Mr. Norris in his The Story of Princeton:

His [McCosh's] busy life in Belfast brought him in contact with high and low. On one occasion he was riding with the Marquis of Dufferin. Dr. McCosh, always direct, boldly said, "My Lord, I fear you are not fulfilling the end of your life." "He looked at me sternly," said Dr. McCosh, "and asked me what I meant. I told him that I said what I meant, and meant what I said. I told him that he had high talents and accomplishments; that he had extensive patrimonial influence in his descent and extensive property, and that something great and good was expected of him." Dr. McCosh urged Lord Dufferin to devote himself to statesmanship. Very soon after this conversation the Marquis was deep in political affairs, and there can be no doubt that it was the turning-point in a career which was crowned with the Governorship of Canada and Governorship of India.

The poet gives us a summary of Dufferin's four years in this very responsible post in "One Viceroy Resigns," a bit of blank verse somewhat ejaculatory in form. The narrative is couched in the first person, as if Dufferin were speaking to his successor. A passage toward the close reveals the portions of the Indian empire with which he was particularly interested:

"The North
Safeguarded—nearly (Roberts knows the rest),
A country twice the size of France annexed.
That stays at least. The rest may pass—may pass—
Your heritage—and I can teach you naught."

Equally with Kipling as with Dufferin, it is the Afghan frontier, Thibet, and Burmah that vitally interest him in India.

Kipling's experiences of Bombay were confined to his child-

hood, for his parents had to submit to that sad parting with their young folks which is the lot of Anglo-Indians. In his tale, "Baa Baa, Black Sheep," we have a record that is closely autobiographical, "Punch" being Rudyard himself, who "found a thousand fascinating things in the rope, block, and steampipe line on the big P. & O. steamer," which was to carry him back to England, "long before Mecta and the *ayah* had dried their tears." The bitter history of unsympathetic relatives, an Aunty Rosa who thrashed him and made him ridiculous, the advent of a kindly Scotch doctor who discovered that the boy was nearly blind and had been wholly misunderstood, and finally the heaven of his dear mother's arrival from India—all these incidents evidently come out of Kipling's own life. After a pleasanter school-time at the United Services College at Westward Ho, in North Devon—for details read his Stalky & Co.—the lad of seventeen landed at the Apollo Bunder of his native Queen City which was no longer his parents' home. They had removed to the frontier city of Lahore, where his artist father was now Principal of the Mayo School of Art; he is described for us minutely in an opening chapter of "Kim." And here at Lahore, in his teens, the ambitious youth became assistant editor in India of the Civil and Military Gazette and Pioneer.

If the population of India may be described, in a general and historic way, as divisible into wolves and sheep, then it has been through the gateway of the Northwest, over which Lahore keeps guard, that the wolves have poured in upon the fold. It is a historic city, capital of the region of the Five Rivers, the Panjab, of which the Indus is the greatest—the river that has given its name to the whole peninsula. With its thirteen massive gates and its ancient walls Lahore recalls a magnificent past, from the time of the early Aryan invaders to the later Mohammedan invasions ending with Babar and Akbar. It is not far from the frontier, where there has always been real frontier work to do, as Dufferin soon discovered. The fighting men of Afghanistan and Baluchistan, armed to the teeth, belong distinctly to the wolf variety of the human species. The two types are brought into excellent contrast in Kipling's poem, "What Happened." The hero, Hurree Chunder Mookerjee, who makes the fatal mistake of posing as man of

action, is a type of the timid Bengali, who for centuries has been the submissive subordinate of bolder and hardier races. While developing in an intellectual way—as is strikingly illustrated in the case of Rabindranath Tagore—he has lost initiative and other masculine characteristics. In passive endurance, the ability to endure pain and the prospect of death without shrinking, and other qualities that are admirable, he makes a good showing. This side of Mookerjee is well shown in "Kim," where the same Bengali personage is introduced and wins the approbation both of the Irish lad and the Afghan Mahbib Ali. The other wolf-like characters in "What Happened" are nearly all taken from the Northwest and would be familiar to the residents of Lahore. We have the Pathan of the frontier in Yar Mahommed Yuzufzai, a type depicted at more length in Wee Willie Winkie, in the Head of the District, and in several other stories. The Rajput of the Panjab is found in Chimbu Singh and in the Sikh Jowar Singh, both martial personages. The loyal Sikh is an energetic type of Indian who often seeks a career abroad, and his turbaned head is to be met with on our Pacific Coast. In the early period of the recent war three of them who are making a living in the vicinity of Los Angeles entered the office of a leading bank and wanted to know who was receiving funds for the British in the war. They were pointed to the proper window, that of an assistant-cashier, and expressed to him their desire to subscribe to the fund for the soldiers of the great Raj. Thereupon, one produced twenty dollars from the folds of his coat, and laid them down on the counter, a second followed with ten dollars, and the third with twelve dollars. Then they marched out with dignity, as having discharged a pleasant duty.

The Bhils, who appear in Kipling's list of redoubtable Indians, are not an Aryan or Caucasian people, like the Rajputs and most of the Sikhs, but are of aboriginal stock. Living a frugal life in the mountains abutting on the Bombay presidency, they retained their warlike qualities and before the British occupation were the terror of the lowland districts, plundering, burning villages, and levying blackmail. At length a British official, Sir James Outram, took in hand the task of reducing the tribe to order,

and less than a century ago had formed a regular Bhil corps in the British army. From being much-feared raiders the choicest of them were turned into good policemen, and are now employed as such and as treasury guards in the whole Khandeesh district. So much for Tantia the Bhil; his people are described in The Tomb of Our Ancestors.

Unlike the Bhils, the Marris, represented by "Killa Khan the Marri chief," who live across in Baluchistan but often stroll into the streets of Lahore, have not yet been tamed. Nor have the Wahabis, of whom Abdul Huq Rafiq is a specimen, and perhaps the toughest and fiercest of the whole number; a fighting Mohammedan, as his name implies, preaching the holiness of war against all unbelievers. Doing essentially policeman's work herself, Britain has been busy, wherever possible, in converting the raw material of warriors into guardians of society rather than despoilers. The Indian Government warned Hurree of his recklessness in claiming the right to wear arms. They knew by experience the difficulty of keeping in order such personages as are described in this quatrain:

> "Jowar Singh the Sikh procured sabre, quoit, and mace,
> Abdul Huq, Wahabi, jerked his dagger from its place;
> While amid the jungle-grass danced and grinned and jabbered
> Little Boh Hla-oo and cleared his dah-blade from the scabbard."

Within a year after Lord Dufferin's arrival in India he was called upon as Viceroy to decide regarding the future of Burmah, the home of that dangerous little dacoit, Boh Hla-oo. The subjugation of this temple-dotted land made a profound impression on the youthful journalist who went with the British troops to get his "story," and its scenery and ways are the the theme of perhaps his most musical lyric, "Mandalay." In Dufferin's Life there are pleasant descriptive passages of his impressions of the country and people. "I have just returned from Burmah," he writes to a friend, early in the year 1886. "The expedition was a most interesting and successful one. Burmah is a delightful country and the Burmese people are extremely engaging, full of fun, jollity, and light-heartedness, and unlike our somber Hindus. The women hold sway from one end of the land to the other, make

their own marriages and their own divorces, retain their property, preside in the shops, and generally assert themselves in so cheerful and good-humored a manner that no Burman need feel humiliated. Their hair is beautifully brushed, shines like ebony, and is dressed with flowers and a top-knot. . . . The Burmese pagodas and monasteries are wonderful nightmare kind of structures, all gold and carving, bristling with beautiful golden demons, fairies, and dragons in high relief, and topped in every direction with graceful pinnacles formed of Chinese-like pavilions superimposed on one another, and contracting as they rise until they end in a single golden spire." We have the whole flavor in Kipling's Mandalay:

"By the old Moulmein pagoda, lookin' eastward to the sea,
There's a Burma girl a-settin,' and I know she thinks o' me;
For the wind is in the palm-trees, and the temple-bells they say:
'Come you back, you British soldier; come you back to Mandalay!'
Come you back to Mandalay,
Where the old Flotilla lay:
Can't you hear their paddles chunking from Rangoon to Mandalay?
On the road to Mandalay,
Where the flyin'-fishes play,
An' the dawn comes up like thunder outer China 'crost the Bay!"

This "neater, sweeter maiden" fascinated the British Tommy, and made him long to return to her land. The savage and incapable rule of King Theebaw, which finally threatened the security of British life and property at Rangoon and on the frontier, besides reducing his own kingdom to anarchy, had made an expedition necessary. Organized on a scale that made opposition useless, it occupied Mandalay within ten days after its appearance in Burmese waters. The king surrendered, and the immediate objects of the campaign were attained with little bloodshed. Almost too easily; for the dacoits, or professional bandits—men of the Boh Hla-oo type—remained to menace society.

"The province of Upper Burmah," remarks Dufferin in a dispatch sent home at this time, "has an area larger than that of France, and contains a population which has been roughly computed at 4,000,000. . . . The population, though it cannot be described as warlike, in the ordinary sense of the term, has a traditional and deep-rooted love of desultory fighting, raiding, gang-robbery, and similar kinds of excitement. Villages have long-standing feuds with villages, and many young peasants, otherwise respectable, spend a season or two as dacoits without losing their

reputation in the eyes of their fellow-villagers. If there were any under the old *régime* who had scruples about engaging in dacoity pure and simple they always had plenty of opportunity for leading a very similar mode of life as partisans of one of the numerous pretenders to the throne, one or more of whom were generally in open revolt against the *de facto* sovereign. These various elements of anarchy no king of Burmah was ever able to suppress."

This "endemic brigandage," with its attendant evils, made any dual control, such as a continuance of internal independence under another member of the royal family, likely to prove expensive and ineffective. After a comprehensive survey of the whole situation Lord Dufferin decided that "annexation pure and simple, and the direct administration of the province by British officers, offered the best prospect of securing the prosperity of Upper Burmah and their own imperial and commercial interests." And so Kipling saw this wide territory pass under the sovereignty of the Queen-Empress, whose government would be responsible for the due protection of life and property and at the same time respect Burmese customs, rights, privileges, and religious institutions. The task of restoring order was both tedious and dear, and cost many a brave English youth his life. Such an incident is told in "The Grave of the Hundred Dead," with its refrain:

"There's a widow in sleepy Chester
Who weeps for her only son;
There's a grave on the Pabeng River,
A grave that the Burmese shun,
And there's a Subadar Prag Tewarri
Who tells how the work was done."

In the poet's "Barrack-Room Ballads," Burmese dacoitry forms the theme of "The Ballad of Boh da Thone," and again, in his "Plain Tales from the Hills," of "The Taking of Lungtungpen."

It was in Burmah that the fascination of Buddhism, the cult of gentleness and self-control which dominates the women at least of Burmah and Japan, seems to have laid hold on Kipling. Of Buddhism it has been remarked that wherever it goes art follows in its train. Lord Dufferin has a striking passage on the subject in a letter from which I have already quoted:

The dress of the *poongyis*, or (Burmese) priests, deserves a word of

commendation. Their heads are shaven, and they are clad in soft yellow robes which fall round them in classic folds, and the dusky orange of their garments is in perfect harmony with their dark skins. They are full of natural grace, and whether they move or sit are an object of delight to the beholder, at least if he is an artist. The great monasteries peopled with enormous statues of silent Buddhas, all sitting cross-legged with their eyes on the ground in calm contemplation, are very solemn and religious, while you could not distinguish the shrines, with their golden images, flowers, candles, and Madonnas and Child from those of a Catholic church.

When he visited Japan, some five or six years after the Burmese War, the object that appears to have impressed Kipling most was the serene statue of Buddha at Kamakura. The poem he wrote at the time, entitled "Buddha at Kamakura, 1892," closes with these suggestive stanzas:

"A tourist show, a legend told,
A rusting hulk of bronze and gold,
So much, and scarce so much, ye hold
The meaning of Kamakura?

"But when the morning prayer is prayed,
Think, ere ye pass to strife and trade,
Is God in human image made
No nearer than Kamakura?"

Later, when he penned the chapters of his long Indian tale, "Kim," the headings were culled from the lines of this poem; and the underlying theme was the religion of Maya's son, which seems to embody and reveal "the Soul of all the East."

To many Americans India is best known through missionary activities. Since the establishment of concurrent endowment, over a century ago, whenever satisfactory work is done in schools, even of a denominational type, the Indian government helps with grants; and many of our workers there receive a portion of their pay from this source. Naturally much effort has been devoted by them to the uplift of the women, whose individuality has been so suppressed by rigid custom and prejudices. Isabella Thoburn, sister of one of our Methodist bishops, was for long engaged in this field of activity, and the leading college for women in the peninsula, at Lucknow, has been named after her. Quite recently Helen Keller made a generous gift to this institution, to be devoted

to the needs of blind girls. Yet Hindu women generally, as Mr. Fred B. Fisher remarks in his recent book, India's Silent Revolution, have been "hardly less handicapped than Helen Keller herself. Slaves and prisoners, shut in by four walls, they grow actually to dread emancipation. When Hindu reformers talk of breaking down *purdah* (the sequestration of women) they meet with opposition from the women themselves." The better day, however, is dawning; and to Lady Dufferin more than to any other person may be given the credit of having launched this great movement of emancipation. Of Ulster stock, born in the old castle of Killyleagh, her great-grandfather, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, was a well-known "United Irishman" who had to go into exile in the troubles of '92. Her father, a captain in the British navy, did much for the cause of Greek independence, and a statue to his memory stands to-day in one of the squares of Athens. Lady Dufferin was a singularly gifted woman—"the cleverest woman I have ever seen," according to the testimony of the late Amir of Afghanistan. Her husband seemed to the Amir and other Asiatic rulers the wisest statesman who had ever been Viceroy, and yet his biographer asserts that Lady Dufferin's residence in India was of hardly less importance than that of her husband. When she was about to leave for India Queen Victoria spoke to her very earnestly on the question of trying to mitigate the sufferings, in sickness and child-bearing, of Indian women. By the autumn of the first year of her residence, she had founded the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India. The Queen became its royal patron, the Viceroy was patron, and Lady Dufferin was made its President. How nobly she discharged the duties is told for us in verse by Rudyard Kipling in his "The Song of the Women," beginning,

> "How shall she know the worship we would do her?
> The walls are high and she is very far.
> How shall the women's message reach unto her
> Above the tumult of the packed bazar?
> Free wind of March, against the lattice blowing,
> Bear thou our thanks lest she depart unknowing."

Note the soft feminine endings of four of the six lines, giving a

pathos to the movement. The closing stanzas change to the more direct masculine rhyme as if something practical was meant:

> "Go forth, O Wind, our message on thy wings,
> And they shall hear thee pass, and bid thee speed,
> In reed-roofed hut or white-walled home of kings,
> Who have been holpen by her in their need.
> All spring shall give thee fragrance, and the wheat
> Shall be a tasseled floorcloth to thy feet."

At the close of the year 1888, when Lady Dufferin was about to leave Calcutta for good, a deputation of Indian women, numbering seven hundred, visited her at the Government House and were granted an audience although the extraordinary number caused some embarrassment to the attendants. In her reply Lady Dufferin spoke of the "happy privilege" that had been granted her "to draw attention to the remediable sufferings and to the wants of the women of India. The quick response to that appeal emanating from the hearts and minds of their countrymen has made the amelioration of their lot a reality and not a dream." Kipling's final stanza vibrates with this eager response, to be borne on the swift wings of the wind:

> "Haste, for our hearts are with thee; take no rest!
> Loud-voiced ambassador, from sea to sea
> Proclaim the blessing, manifold, confest,
> Of these in darkness by her hand set free,
> Then very softly to her presence move
> And whisper: 'Lady, lo, they know and love.'"

Is Kipling to be classed as a pessimist? Some of his later utterances are thought by many to imply this quality; and to those who believe in an unadulterated "human nature," which is able to work out its own salvation without a higher revealed law of Sacrifice, he is a pessimist. His optimism, a recent critic of distinction declares, is "pessimism plus heroism—that is the formula for Mr. Kipling, if you concede that he is optimistic at all. It is this notion that removes the boyishness from his notion of empire. Empire is not booty; empire is debt. Possession is the call to toil and sacrifice." The same critic points out that even when he sets our hearts aglow with poems of adventure, and sounds

inspiriting bugle-notes in his military verse, the voice alone is cheerful; the words are sad. His rousing "Barrack-Room Ballads" begins with the story of a dismal hanging, and there is even a tone of agony in the refrain. The noble character of Gunga Din, evoking our sympathy, is that of a simple Indian water-carrier, cuffed by those he loyally serves, and finally losing his life on the battle-field.

Life after all, to the religious man, is a warfare against forces that make for evil and that must be controlled; this is, for him, the only life worth living however painful it be. Nature, "red in tooth and claw," gives us the unmoral Law of the Jungle. Hence the old "wisdom maxims" of our forefathers, based on morality and religion, outlast the Rousseauistic belief in Progress and Happiness as the mechanical result of "free intellectual and social expansion." Such a doctrine can never be a substitute for a sane belief in a God of righteousness and providence. This is the theme of the poet's latest utterance, "The Gods of the Copybook Maxims," which appeared in Harper's Monthly for February. It begins:

"As I pass thro' my incarnations, in every age and race,
I make my proper prostrations to the Gods of the Market Place;
Peering thro' reverent fingers I watch them flourish and fall,
And the Gods of the Copybook Maxims, I note, outlast them all."

The poem is not a mere pessimistic philippic, as the self-complacent moralist, who has no place for sin and evil in the world, would term it; it is a stern enunciation of such vital truths as form the theme of the sixth stanza, "The wages of sin is death," and the closing stanza ends with the moral:

"And after this is accomplished, and the brave new world begins
Where all men insist on their merits and no one desists from his sins,
As surely as Water will wet us, as surely as Fire will burn,
The Gods of the Copybook Maxims with terrors and slaughters return."

Call this faith in early religious teaching and the old maxims of home, chapel and school "boyishness," if you like, yet it is the safe and wise childlikeness which makes for the Kingdom of Heaven. There is no such heavenly kingdom or commonwealth in sight if we confine our faith to mere political methods or political-economical

nostrums. This is Kipling's eager belief since he first began to write; he has not "progressed" from it since, to the disappointment of the supermen, progressives, and others who are ever eager to tell or to hear some new thing. He has stood fast manfully by the eternal verities, and so retains that breeziness of moral outlook, tempered with wistfulness, which marks his wonderful Recessional:

> "The tumult and the shouting dies;
> The captains and the kings depart:
> Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,
> An humble and a contrite heart.
> Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
> Lest we forget—lest we forget."

It has rightly received its place in our Hymnal; and I have deemed it a privilege to trace its spring and source to the devout Macdonald home in Birmingham and another Methodist home in Yorkshire.

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ISRAEL'S UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION TO TRUE RELIGION

In discussing the relation of Christianity to other historical religions Professor Eucken makes the statement that the absolute religion "coincides entirely in no way with any one of the historical religions." But, he continues, "Christianity in the nature of its substance appears as the highest embodiment of absolute religion. . . . We are not able to develop what proves itself absolute religion without a constant reference to Christianity. Christianity has already appeared to us from its inmost foundation as the religion of religions, and simultaneously as being certain of a permanent duration. But the eternal in Christianity finds itself not only railed in and interlaced but also welded with seemingly inseparable elements which bear the imprint of a special age and which we dare not bind to ourselves." Thinking, then, of Christianity only in "its substance," "its inmost foundation," or the "eternal" that may be discovered in it, it may be safe to claim that the essential elements of Christianity are essential elements of true religion. The New Testament is in a peculiar sense the sacred book of Christianity, but the early Christians, in forming the canon of sacred scriptures, included in their Bible writings which originated among the Hebrews and Jews before the Christian era. This was done because it was seen that a very intimate organic connection exists between the Old Testament and the Book of the new religion. And even before the question of a sacred canon received consideration the unique religious value of the Old Testament was recognized among the early Christians.

Surely it is worthy of note that these ancient Jewish scriptures played an important part in the religious life of Jesus. No one can study the records of his life without seeing that he gathered much of his spiritual nourishment from their pages. Even in the moments of severest temptation, greatest distress and bitterest agony the words of these ancient writings were upon his lips, and their consoling and inspiring messages in his heart and mind. This attitude of Jesus toward the ancient Hebrew scriptures in

itself explains the high estimate placed upon them by his followers; for, in the words of George Adam Smith, "That which was used by the Redeemer himself for the sustenance of his own soul can never pass out of the use of his redeemed; that from which he proved the divinity of his mission and the age-long preparation for his coming must always have a principal place in his church's argument for him." The attitude of Jesus is reflected in his disciples and in the men who have given to us the New Testament books. Nearly three hundred quotations from the Old Testament are scattered throughout the Gospels and Epistles and in a number of passages the value of the Old Testament study is specifically emphasized. Perhaps nowhere is this done more clearly than in 2 Tim. 3. 15-17, in words written primarily of the Old Testament: "The sacred writings, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus. Every scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness: that the man of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work." Evidently the writer of these words considers the sacred writings of the Hebrews able to inspire a personal saving faith, to furnish a knowledge of the things of God, and to prepare for efficient service.

The post-apostolic church seems to have proved to its complete satisfaction the truth of this apostolic statement. At any rate, it accepted without question the scriptures of the Old Testament as authoritative, and until at least the middle of the second century these scriptures alone were thus regarded. Even then, only gradually and under the pressure of real needs different groups of Christian writings were added, and received an authority equal to that of the older scriptures, until the canon was finally formed including both the Old and the New Testaments. Throughout the Middle Ages, and in the eyes of the Protestant reformers, the two great divisions of the Bible continued to command equal respect and attention. The legal principles of the Pentateuch have determined to a large extent the spirit of the legal systems of all civilized nations, the bold and fiery sermons of the prophets have been the chief inspiration in the fierce battles for righteousness in all ages,

and the sublime religious lyrics of the psalter have ushered millions into the very presence of God. Indeed, the Old Testament has exerted an incalculable influence on the development of religion and civilization.

The high estimate placed upon the Old Testament not only by the Jews but also by Jesus, the New Testament writers and Christians for many generations would seem to imply a belief that the Old Testament religion reflected in these books contains some elements which might be considered worthy of being called essential elements of true religion; or, to use the wording of our topic, that Israel made some contribution to true religion. But can we speak of a *unique* contribution? Are any of the elements which Christianity has taken over from the Hebrew religion original with the Hebrews, so that they form a unique contribution of Israel, or are these ideas borrowed by Israel from other nations and religions, so that the Hebrews, after all, are not the contributors but simply mediators transmitting to Christianity what they received from others?

An inquiry of this character would have been unthought of a century ago, in part because the religion of Babylonia and Assyria, which reveals such striking resemblances to that of Israel, was then very largely unknown, and in part because there was no pronounced interest in comparative study of any kind. But the present is an era of comparative study. We no longer study subjects by themselves. We compare them with correlated experience and phenomena. In the sphere of language study we have the science of comparative philology. Language is compared with language. By such comparison a flood of light has been thrown on language. We know Greek and Latin and Hebrew to-day as our predecessors did not know them. The same principle of comparison is now applied to the study of history, of literature, of philosophy, of ethics, of religion. "Recognizing the kinship of men, and their subjection to the same general laws, we realize that under similar conditions they will think and act similarly. We can compare them with one another, establish certain categories and certain laws, and thus the fragmentary records of one people may be explained and ex-

panded by a comparison of the records of another." The literature and religion of the Hebrews has come to be studied in the same comparative manner. Men are laying to-day the whole Hebrew literature, history, and religion alongside of the literatures, histories, and religions of other nations, testing them by the same methods and applying to them the same rules. The importance and far-reaching significance of this comparative study is suggested in the following quotation from the prominent Assyriologist, Hugo Winckler: "We come in the end to this, that we can distinguish only two world-views (*Weltanschauung*) which the human race has known in its historical development: the old Babylonian and the modern empirical naturalistic, which is still in process of development and is yet struggling with the old one in many departments of life." To avoid misunderstanding respecting the significance of the Babylonian influence he adds, "The world-view and religion are *one* for the ancient Oriental." In this statement Winckler robs the Old Testament religion of all originality. He considers it simply a natural development of the Babylonian religion. Friedrich Delitzsch in his lectures on "Babel and Bible" expressed the same idea in a slightly modified form and attempted to show the predominance of Babylonian thought in the Hebrew conception of the origin of the world, the Fall, the Flood, life after death, angels, demons, the devil, the sabbath, a large part of the sacrificial cult, the directions concerning the priesthood, the name and worship of Jehovah, and a more or less clearly defined monotheism. More recently other scholars have expressed essentially the same view. Are these claims warranted or may we still speak of a unique contribution of Israel?

Now, it may be admitted that one of the most important results of recent archæological discovery has been to show that many of the religious rites, customs, institutions, and beliefs of Babylonia and Assyria, as also of Egypt, resemble closely those assigned in the Old Testament to the Hebrews. This is true of an institution like the sabbath, and other religious festivals. There are close similarities between the Hebrew ceremonial and that of the inhabitants of the Euphrates-Tigris valley, and the more we know of the Babylonian ritual the more extensive and striking

these resemblances become. Like the Hebrews, the Babylonians had their guardian angels, and alongside of these there appear evil spirits and demons. Israel's conception of Sheol, the place of the departed, shows almost startling resemblances with the Babylonian conceptions; for the descriptions of Sheol found in Job, in the Psalms, in Isaiah and elsewhere are hardly to be distinguished from those found in Babylonian literature. Striking similarities are found also between the legal systems of Babylonia and Israel. By far the most important Babylonian legal code is the so-called Code of Hammurabi. Even a superficial comparison of the legal provisions in that code with the laws of the Pentateuch reveals marked similarities between the two systems. One is immediately struck, for example, by the similarity in application of the *lex talionis:* Ham. 196, "If a man destroy the eye of another man, they shall destroy his eye"; 197, "If one break a man's bone, they shall break his bone"; 200, "If a man knock out the tooth of a man of his own rank, they shall knock out his tooth." With this compare Exod. 21. 23-25, "Thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe"; or Deut. 19. 21, "Thine eye shall not pity; life shall go for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot." Compare also Lev. 24. 19, 20, "If a man cause a blemish in his neighbor; as he hath done, so shall it be done to him; breach for breach; eye for eye; tooth for tooth: as he hath caused a blemish in a man, so shall it be rendered unto him." This principle is applied very extensively in both codes when considering the restitution for damage done.

Attention may further be called to the existence in Babylonia of stories showing very marked resemblances to the accounts of the creation of the world, of the origin of man and of sin, of a deluge, and other narratives contained in the first eleven chapters of Genesis. Several distinct creation stories originating at different religious centers have been handed down. Echoes of the most remarkable of these, called *Enuma elish* from its opening words, are found in several Old Testament passages. In these Jehovah is represented as having contended with a great primeval monster, called in some passages Rahab, in others Leviathan or Dragon.

This being seems to symbolize chaos, or to personify the primeval ocean which existed when the process of creation began. In the conflict between Jehovah and this monster the hostile creature and its helpers were overthrown, after which the heavens and the earth were created. A few of these biblical passages may be quoted:

O Jehovah God of hosts,
Who is a mighty one, like unto thee, O Jehovah?
And thy faithfulness is round about thee.
Thou rulest the pride of the sea:
When the waves thereof arise, thou stillest them.
Thou hast broken Rahab in pieces, as one that is slain;
Thou hast scattered thine enemies with the arm of thy strength.
The heavens are thine, the earth also is thine:
The world and the fullness thereof, thou hast founded them.
The north and the south, thou hast created them.

(Psa. 89: 8-12.)

Rahab is a reflection of the Babylonian Tiamat: Jehovah takes the place of the Babylonian god, Marduk, the conqueror of Tiamat; the enemies are the helpers of Tiamat mentioned in the Babylonian poem. The order of events is the same in the two accounts: first the conflict, then creation.

He stirreth up the sea with his power,
And by his understanding he smiteth through Rahab.
By his Spirit the heavens are garnished;
His hand hath pierced the swift serpent.

(Job 26. 12, 13.)

God will not withdraw his anger;
The helpers of Rahab do stoop under him.

(Job 9. 13.)

Yet God is my King of old,
Working salvation in the midst of the earth.
Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength:
Thou brakest the heads of the sea-monsters in the waters.
Thou brakest the heads of leviathan in pieces,
Thou gavest him to be food to the people inhabiting the wilderness.
Thou didst cleave fountain and flood:
Thou driedst up mighty rivers.
The day is thine, the night also is thine;
Thou hast prepared the light and the sun.
Thou hast set all the borders of the earth:
Thou hast made summer and winter.

(Psa. 74. 12-17.)

The narrative of creation in Gen. 1 shows especially close resemblances with the Babylonian tradition. Another Babylonian tradition, the close relation of which to the biblical account has long been recognized, is the story of the Deluge. These and other similarities which might be pointed out seem to show that some relation of dependence exists between the religious beliefs, practices, and institutions of the Old Testament and those of Babylonia; and since the Babylonian are the older the Hebrews would have to be the borrowers. Must we then conclude that all the religious ideas and ideals of Israel are borrowed from Babylon? that there is no room to speak of a unique original contribution of Israel? If nothing but resemblances existed the answer to these questions would rob the Hebrew religion of all originality. But the investigation would be neither scientific nor complete if we should fail to recognize that alongside of the points of similarity there are numerous points of contrast; and these points of contrast are chiefly in the spirit and atmosphere pervading the Hebrew scriptures, which make them quite distinct, not simply from Babylonian, but from all other literatures of antiquity. The difference runs throughout the entire field of religious literature. Let us notice a few instances.

We have discovered some very striking resemblances between the Babylonian and Hebrew accounts of creation; but these resemblances must not blind the eye to the differences, which are equally marked. Aside from some minor differences of no special significance there appears a very fundamental contrast in the conception of the nature and character of deity. The Babylonian story opens with these words:

> When above the heaven was not named,
> And beneath the earth bore no name.
> And the primeval Apsu, who begat them,
> And Mummu-Tiamat, the mother of them all,—
> Their waters were mingled together
> And no reed was formed, no marsh seen,
> When no one of the gods had been called into being,
> (And) none bore a name, and no destinies (were fixed).

Compare with this the simple, yet majestic conception, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." In one case

many gods, in the other, one God almighty; in one case the gods are a part of the process of creation, in the other the uncreated God is in the beginning. Genesis represents God as almighty, but also as kind, beneficent, loving; Marduk, the Babylonian creator, is represented as a great hero but exceedingly selfish. He undertakes the mighty task of overcoming Tiamat only after making arrangements for suitable reward.

> If I, your avenger,
> Do enchain Tiamat and give you life,
> Make an assembly; exalt my destiny;
> In Upshukkinaku seat yourselves joyfully together,
> With my word in your stead, will I decree destiny.
> That which I do shall remain unchanged,
> It shall not be changed, it shall not fail, the word of my lips.

The description of a heavenly banquet scene in the story of creation implies a conception of the character of the Babylonian gods which is separated by an impassable gulf from the Old Testament ideal:

> They made ready the feast, at the banquet (they sat),
> They ate bread, they mingled the wine.
> The sweet drink made them drunken . . .
> By drinking they were drunken, their bodies were filled.
> They shouted aloud, their heart was exalted,
> Then for Marduk, their avenger, did they decree destiny.

No one can read with an unbiased mind the two accounts without realizing the great differences between the mythological polytheistic account of the Babylonians and the simple, solemn, sublime, monotheistic picture in Genesis. The soberness, the dignity, the simplicity of the Hebrew account lift it far above its Babylonian counterpart. From it the crude nature myths have all been stripped away. No drunken gods hold revels in its solemn lines. Above and behind and in all is one righteous and beneficent God. In the sublime ethical monotheism the Hebrew story rises infinitely above the story that originated in the Euphrates-Tigris valley. Similar differences may be noted between the two representations of the flood. For example, the book of Genesis introduces the divine displeasure with sin—in other words, the ethical element—as a fundamental note; then, when the divine mercy is aroused, the flood ceases. According to the Babylonian story the flood is

caused by the capricious anger of Bel, the idea of punishment for sin cropping out only as an incident in the conversation between Ea and Bel at the end of the story. The flood ceases because the other gods are terrified, and Ishtar intercedes for her own creation. Moreover, the whole Hebrew conception of the divine differs from the Babylonian. In the Hebrew account we find ourselves in an atmosphere of ethical monotheism that is unknown apart from the chosen people. Disappeared have all the gods who war with one another, who rejoice in successful intrigues, who do not hesitate to tell untruths or instruct their favorites to do so; the gods unstable in all their ways, now seeking to destroy, now flattering their creatures; the gods who, terrified by the storm, "cower like dogs" at the edge of heaven, and who "gather like flies" around the sacrifice of the saved hero. All these characteristic features of the Babylonian account are absent from the biblical story. Surely there is no connection between these deities and the one sublime and gracious God of Genesis.

The fundamental difference in these narratives, as has been pointed out, is the conception of the nature and character of God. This higher conception of the deity has influenced every kind of literature in the Old Testament. It may be seen in the narratives concerning the beginning of things, in the stories of the patriarchs, and in the historical records from beginning to end. This lofty conception differentiates the Decalogue and the entire legal system of the Hebrews from the legislation of other peoples. Prophecy, poetry, and the wisdom writings all are permeated by this lofty conception of the divine. As a result the Old Testament, as a whole, is separated from the religious literature of these other nations by an impassable gulf. In many cases there is agreement in form and even in ideas, but how far superior the substance and spirit of the Hebrew writings. Here, then, we see the unique contribution of Israel to true religion. "However numerous the points of contact between Israel and the neighboring people, however many parallels may still be discovered to Old Testament passages, all this does not affect the peculiarity of the Israelite religion; it will remain unimpaired. And this peculiarity is ethical monotheism; or the living, organic connection of religion and morality." In

order to make clearer this uniqueness of the Hebrew religion we may consider somewhat more in detail the conception of deity as found in Babylonian literature, on the one hand, in the Old Testament on the other.

The origin of Babylonian religion belongs to a period of which little or nothing is known, but there are indications that a fundamental aspect of the earliest religion of the country was animism; that is, the belief that every object was possessed and animated by a spirit. "Life was the only force known to man which explained motion and, conversely, motion was the sign and manifestation of life. The arrow which sped through the air or the rock which fell from the cliff did so in virtue of their possessing life, or because the motive force of life lay, in some way or other, behind them. The stars, which slowly moved through the sky, and the sun, which rose and set day by day, were living beings. It was life which gave them the power of movement as it gave the power of movement to man himself, and the animals by whom he was surrounded." Besides this belief in animism the Babylonian religion shows evidence of a belief in ghosts that were related to the world of the dead. These ghosts were thought to exercise an evil influence upon men, and could be cast out only by the use of incantations. But, while these elements belonged to the early religion, Babylonian religion, as it actually meets us even in the earliest inscriptions, had reached a higher stage of development. There appear many local deities. Every center of human habitation had its special patron deity. For example, Babylon was the city of Marduk; Nippur, of Enlil; Ur, of Sin; Sippar, of Shamash; Cuthah, of Nergal; Ashur, of Ashur; etc. This deity is usually associated with some great natural phenomenon, foremost among them being the sun and the moon, but by the side of these many other natural objects or forces were personified or deified. It is probable that in the beginning, as the result of limited observation and speculation, the number of gods in the Babylonian Pantheon was relatively small. However, in the course of time they became greatly multiplied as the result of a wider observation of the phenomena of nature, political changes and theological speculation. Over against this tendency to multiply deities there shows itself in the course of the centuries

a tendency to diminish the number of gods, and in the end comparatively few remain, and in the late Babylonian period the worship seems to have been confined chiefly to Marduk, Nabu, Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar. Some of the great thinkers of Babylonia seem to have gone even so far as to consider the various deities manifestations of the one god Marduk. There is in existence a tablet of the Neo-Babylonian period which states that Marduk is called Ninib as the possessor of power, Nergal as lord of battle, Bel as possessor of dominion, Nabu as lord of business, Sin as the illuminator of the night, Shamash as the lord of right, Addu as the lord of rain, etc. It is seen, then, that monotheistic tendencies are not absent from the Babylonian religion, but they never go beyond the realm of speculation. "The Babylonians," says Professor Rogers, "with all their wonderful gifts were never able to conceive of one god, of one god alone, of one god whose very existence makes logically impossible the very existence of any other deity. Monotheism transcends the spiritual grasp of the Babylonian mind." In the words of Delitzsch, "Notwithstanding all this, however, and despite the fact that many liberal and enlightened minds openly advocated the doctrine that Nergal and Nabu, the moon god and the sun god, the god of thunder, Ramman, and all the rest of the Babylonian Pantheon, were one in Marduk, the god of light, still polytheism, gross polytheism, remained for three thousand years the Babylonian state of religion—a sad and significant warning against the colossal power which may be acquired by a strongly organized priesthood based upon it."

Even the most spiritual expressions of the Babylonian religion, the so-called Penitential Psalms, bear witness to the fact that the writers continued to worship many deities. In one of the most spiritual of these psalms the psalmist prays:

> That the heart anger of my lord be appeased,
> A god unknown to me be appeased,
> A goddess unknown to me be appeased,
> A known and unknown god be appeased,
> A known and unknown goddess be appeased,
> That the heart of my god be appeased,
> The heart of my goddess be appeased,
> God and goddess, known and unknown, be appeased.

Some of the hymns and prayers addressed to certain deities read almost as if the authors were monotheists. But this is due simply to the fact that just at the time they are interested in the power or splendor or favor of a specific deity. Again and again the fact crops out that they believe in the existence of other deities and think it their duty to pay homage to different deities. At no period of the religious history of Babylonia is there any indication of a clear and well-defined monotheism.

In Egypt, also, a tendency toward monotheism, or, perhaps better, pantheism, manifested itself, especially during the reign of Amenophis IV, after 1400 B. C.; that is, during the period when the Hebrews are said to have been in Egypt. He tried to do away with the worship of many deities and to establish as the one supreme deity the orb of the sun; but after the death of Amenophis, who was considered a heretic, the new cult disappeared without exerting any noticeable influence on Egyptian religion. There certainly is no evidence that either the Babylonian or the Egyptian monotheistic tendencies influenced in any way the development of Israel's religion.

Turning now to the conception of deity in the Old Testament, we soon discover that this conception passed through various stages of development. The earliest of these stages is found in the period before Moses. The first thing to be noted about this period is that, in spite of the close relation of the ancient Hebrews with Babylon, the early Hebrew conception of deity does not seem to have been influenced in any marked manner by that of Babylonia, nor is there any clear indication of Egyptian influence. On the other hand, the oldest Hebrew religion shows marked similarities with the religion of their nomadic neighbors, as reflected, for example, in the oldest traditions of the Arab tribes. This does not mean that an indirect influence may not have been exerted by Babylon, indeed, the absence of such influence would be very strange in view of the fact that according to Hebrew tradition, the essential truth of which need not be questioned, the ancestors of the Hebrews came from Babylonia; namely, from the city of Ur, which was the principal center of the worship of the Babylonian moon-god, Sin. The results of modern investigation into the nature of the early

Hebrew conception of deity may be briefly stated as follows: Like the early Babylonian religion, the religion of Israel passed through a stage of animism. In one form, this is the belief in the activity of the spirits of recently deceased relatives. But this becomes a religion only when it leads to the worship of the departed, that is, ancestor worship, of which there is no definite indication in the biblical material at our command. But there is a form of animism of which there are traces in Israel as in Babylonia; namely, the worship of spirits that were believed to be the inhabitants and possessors of certain objects and places, like trees, stones, springs, which thereby assumed a sacred character. To this form of religion the name polydemonism, which means the worship of many demons, is ordinarily given. Demon, however, is to be understood here, not in the sense of evil spirit, but simply a divine being of inferior order. As illustrations of this belief, attention may be called to the sacred stone, Bethel, which gave the city its name, "House of God" (Gen. 28. 19); or to the sacred oracular tree at Shechem (Gen. 12:6; Deut. 11:30); or to the sacred wells at Kadesh (Gen. 14:7) and Beersheba (Gen. 21:28-33). In general it may be said that during the pre-Mosaic period the Hebrew conception of the deity was not essentially different from the conception of the peoples with which we have become better acquainted through modern exploration and excavation.

From the time of the Exodus another and very different conception appears. The most striking feature of this new conception is that the Israelites are now exhorted to worship only one god, whom they are to consider their own peculiar deity, while they are to look upon themselves as his own peculiar people. True, the earlier conceptions did not disappear entirely, or immediately, and many advance steps were taken in subsequent generations toward a higher and nobler conception of this god; but for the religious leaders from the time of Moses there was but one god who had a right to demand Israel's loyalty. Jehovah was the name of this god, and the religious watchword was, "Jehovah the god of Israel; Israel the people of Jehovah." Now archæology has shown the Semitic equivalent of Jehovah to have been used as a divine name long before the time of the Exodus. But archæology has also

shown that the conception of the nature and character of Yahweh developed by the religious leaders of the Hebrews from the time of Moses, and reaching its culmination in the age of the great prophets, is peculiar to the Hebrews. Says R. W. Rogers, "There can therefore be no escape from the conclusion that the divine name Yahweh (Jehovah) is not a peculiar possession of the Hebrews." Then he continues, "At first sight this may seem like a startling robbery of Israel, this taking away from her the divine name Yahweh as an exclusive possession, but it is not so. Yahweh himself is not taken away; he remains the priceless possession, the chief glory of Israel. It is only the name that is shown to be widespread. And the name matters little. The great question is, What does this name convey? What is its theological content? The name came to Israel from the outside, but into that vessel a long line of prophets, from Moses onward, poured such a flood of attributes as never a priest in all western Asia, from Babylonia to the sea, ever dreamed of in his highest moments of spiritual insight. In this name and through Israel's history God chose to reveal himself to Israel, and by Israel to the world. Therein lies the supreme and lonesome superiority of Israel over Babylonia." Far be it from me to rob the religion of Babylonia of any of its glory. In a hymn like the following, addressed to Shamash, a Babylonian saint rises to a height of conception that compares favorably with conceptions of Jehovah reflected in the Old Testament:

Who plans evil—his horn thou dost destroy,
Whoever is fixing boundaries annuls rights.
The unjust judge thou restrainest with force.
Whoever accepts a bribe, who does not judge justly—on him thou imposest sin.
But he who does not accept a bribe, who has a care for the oppressed,
To him Shamash is gracious, his life he prolongs.
The judge who renders a just decision
Shall end in a palace, the place of princes shall be his dwelling

. . . . . .

The seed of those who act unjustly shall not flourish.
What their mouth declares in thy presence
Thou shalt burn it up, what they purpose wilt thou annul.
Thou knowest their transgressions; the declaration of the wicked thou dost cast aside.
Every one, wherever he may be, is in thy care.

Thou directest their judgments, the imprisoned dost thou liberate.
Thou hearest, O Shamash, petition, prayer, and appeal,
Humility, prostration, petitioning, and reverence,
With loud voice the unfortunate one cries to thee.
The weak, the exhausted, the oppressed, the lowly,
Mother, wife, maid, appeal to thee,
He who is removed from his family, he that dwelleth far from his city.

Nevertheless, in spite of the excellence of this and similar utterances found here and there, I venture to assert without any fear of contradiction, that we may search the pantheon of Babylon from one end to the other and we shall not find one god who in nature and character can compare with the Jehovah of Israel as proclaimed by the great prophets and glorified by the sweet singers of the nation, a God "merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abundant in loving-kindness and truth." We may well speak of a "great gulf" which is fixed between primitive Semitic and even later Babylonian conceptions of God and the noble spiritual views of him set forth under divine illumination by Isaiah—God, spirit, personal, with a clearly defined moral character, in his mercy condescending to enter into covenant relations with his creatures, loving man, and desiring to be loved by him, his anger aroused by sin, but gracious toward the repenting sinner.

This conception of God constituted the essential, unique contribution of Israel to true religion; and it is due to this fundamental uniqueness in the conception of the nature and character of deity that the religion of Israel became "a living and ethical power, growing and increasing until Jesus, greatest of the prophets, completed the message of his predecessors" and Christianity was born.

THE MAYFLOWER, 1620-1920

On the 6th day of September, 1620, the little ship Mayflower —about the size of a lake schooner and about as seaworthy as a Hudson River ferryboat—put out from the port of Plymouth to risk the buffetings of the Western sea and to look for standing-room on an unknown continent. On the 4th of May, 1917, nearly three hundred years later, the Mayflower came back to those shores to bring news of its long adventure and to ask how fared the Motherland. At any rate, that is how the world has spoken of the entry of the first division of American destroyers into the harbor of Queenstown on that epoch-making day. Just three hundred years was the Christian religion in conquering the ancient world. Just three hundred years and the Anglo-Saxon had possessed himself of the Western Continent, and had turned backward whence he came to help save the world and to rescue civilization from collapse.

Bernard F. Gribble, the marine artist, has a vision and an inspiration. He paints a picture of the arrival of this division of destroyers while Queenstown puts on holiday garments, and he calls this picture "The Return of the Mayflower." The United States Government buys the picture and the world thrills at the clever *bon mot* of the artist. Rattner, another artist, in another sketch, shows the Mayflower herself, close-hauled and scuppers down, leading a procession of long, lithe, graceful bloodhounds of the sea—swifter than the hawk and deadlier than the mountain lion—for the New World has come back to help the Old World get rid of its cut-throat kings. When Admiral Bayly, the exacting and taciturn head of the destroyer activities, asked Commander Taussig of the Wadsworth when they could begin operations, the equally laconic young American answered, "As soon as we can get some coal." The war was won when the coal was inboard.

The world had been working toward the Mayflower for a thousand years. The sailing of the Pilgrims was but one swift picture in the unrolling film of the ages. It was part of the great

evolution—the growth of the individual; the right to think and worship God and be master in one's own house. There had been but little standing-room for the individual. The type was everything, the single life did not count. The church and state had held the center of the stage; the king and the soldier had strutted in the spotlight of the historian. The proletariat had not arrived. The state had ruled from Constantine down. The Bishop could not be invested with the insignia of his office but by royal hands. At the Bishop's death the staff and ring were taken to the King's palace and held there at the King's pleasure, or until the new Bishop was ready to acknowledge allegiance. The authority of the church was advisory only. The episcopate was a political office and preferment. In 1074 Gregory VII officially denied the King's right of investiture. The people were not to recognize in any form the Bishop who was made Bishop by the King. Gregory VII is this; not Gregory the Great, but Gregory greater than the Great; the son of a Tuscan carpenter, elected to the Papacy against his will, but so filling the chair and so completely dominating the world that the history of his pontificate is a history of his times. He came into collision with Henry IV of Germany. Two women were the occasion of the schism—the wife and the mother-in-law of one of Henry's best friends. Any other occasion would have suited just as well, for the crafty Pope was aching for a scrap. The contest waxed bitter. Henry deposed the Pope, declared that his election was not in due and ancient form, as he, the Emperor, had not given his voucher. The Pope was not a Pope until he had received the rubber-stamp of the Emperor. Then the Pope unlimbered his most terrible engine of war. He launched the thunderbolt of excommunication. And this was the form: "In the name of Almighty God, I prohibit Henry, the son of the Emperor Henry [his Reverence was not above a bit of sarcasm], from governing the Teutonic Empire. I release all Christians from their oath of allegiance to him, and stoutly forbid all persons from serving or attending him as King."

This sounds like the breeziest rhodomontade to-day, but when it fell from the Vatican one thousand years ago it shook the world.

Then came a battle of the giants; but not long. Alarmed by

insurrection and deserted by his princes, the Emperor sought the Pope at Canossa. And there the monarch of the west, the successor of Cæsar and Charlemagne, barefoot, and clothed in penitential raiment, waited until the pontiff should consent to give him audience.

The church was supreme. Its rulers were world rulers. To it belonged the kingdoms of the world and the glory thereof. How it secured all this—whether it had learned a more discreet method than that suggested to its divine Founder, does not matter now. The Dark Ages followed to show how it used this power. Then slowly out of the shadows comes a new regime. The Crusades clear away much of the rubbish left over from the old wrecks. William the Conqueror lands in England, Joan of Arc appears in France, John Huss is in Bohemia, Martin Luther stirs Germany, and Columbus sails overseas to America. The inevitable trend of all this world travail and martyrdom has been toward the exaltation of self-hood, the supremacy of the individual, the reign of Democracy, the kingship of the people. The Magna Charta was extorted from the English King that the body might be free; the Thirty Years War in Central Europe came that the soul might be free; Shakespeare and Locke in England showed that the mind might be free; then Arminius in Holland, and the freedom of the will. And for all this—America. Here the world may watch in actual experiment the culmination of this age-long and racial urge; the Freedom of Body, and Soul, and Mind, and Will. The world has been fighting for us—and waiting for us. As the constant stars in Ursa Major point to the Pole star, as the cryptographic prophecies of the Old Testament whisper of Bethlehem and the Manger, so the struggles, the battle cries, the blood baptisms of the past centuries are all explained when Columbus sails from Port au Palos; all have abundant meaning when we stand with the Pilgrim Fathers on the threshold of a continent that some day shall be spokesman of the world. In the light of yesterday we feel that America is the fulfillment of all that is past. In the light of to-day we are ready to claim that America holds the key of all that is to come. This is not the fantastic boast of an over-sanguine patriot. Alfred Noyes, a wide-visioned Englishman, looking upon

the "Avenue of the Allies," as he calls Fifth Avenue, dressed in its war garments, writes:

> "Over this Continent, wholly united,
> They that were foemen in Europe are plighted.
> Here, in a league that our blindness and pride
> Doubted and flouted and mocked and denied,
> Dawns the Republic, the laughing gigantic
> Europe, united, beyond the Atlantic.
> That is America, speaking one tongue,
> Acting her epics before they are sung.
> Driving her rails from the palms to the snow,
> Through States that are greater than Emperors know;
> Forty-eight States that are empires in might,
> Now ruled by the will of one people to-night.
> Nerved as one body, with net-works of steel,
> Merging their strength in the one Commonweal,
> Brooking no poverty, mocking at Mars,
> Building their cities to talk with the stars.
> Know you the soul of this deep exultation?
> Know you the word that goes forth to this nation:
> *I am the breath of God. I am his Liberty.*
> *Let there be light over all his Creation.*"

Now let us look back and watch the Puritans in the eastern and southern counties of England as they begin to gather together for worship disentangled from the apron-strings of Mother Church. They believed in the individual interpretation of the Scriptures. This was contrary to the teaching of the Establishment. This, according to Queen Elizabeth, the earthly head of the English Church, was subversive of the principles upon which the throne was founded. The Puritan thus became a traitor as well as a heretic. Watch them as they seek to escape into Holland. At their first attempt they are apprehended and thrown into prison. The state does not love them, but the state cannot bear to be separated from them. Once more they break away, this time at night, and about one hundred of them are soon settled in the city of Leyden, where Rembrandt is still toddling around in his nursery under the shadow of the famous university, and almost before the North Sea, turned cityward by William of Orange to save the city from the Spaniard, has slipped back to its ancient level. Later, the home-lust upon them, they apply to their home King for

permission to make for themselves a home in America. And even though the King and his advisors frown upon this project, even though the best they can get from the King is that he will keep his hands off so long as they are good, they determine to sail the sea and settle the new continent. What a spectacle is this. The Muse of History, while stifling a yawn at the stupidity of the elect and beribboned history makers, must have smiled behind her hand at the irony of the situation. The men who are to plant a commonwealth that is to represent the highest ideals of the homeland, that is in the end to save the homeland from immeasurable disaster, churlishly dismissed with the surly and ill-concealed hostility of the leaders of the home-land, whose purblind eyes are not able to see the light that some day will shine out of the west and illuminate the world.

And what chance is there? What prospect of success? What hope for the future? There is a dingy old book in the State Library in Boston that has had a strange career. After the British occupation of Boston this elusive book played hide and seek for eighty years. Eventually it was found in the palace of the Bishop of London. No one knew just how it got there, but it was at last persuaded to come back home where it belongs and rest itself among its old friends. It is the History of Plymouth, and was written by Governor William Bradford, himself a Mayflower passenger. Hear him as he plaintively, ingenuously writes:

"And here I stand amazed at this poor people's present condition. And so I think will the reader too when he well considers ye same. Being thus passed ye vast ocean they had now no friends to well-come them, nor inns to entertain their weather-beaten bodies. And for ye season: it was Winter, and they that know ye Winters, know them to be sharp and violent. Besides what could they see but a hideous & desolate wilderness full of wild beasts & wild men? They had a ship to succor them, it is true; but what heard they daily from ye master & crew? That if they got not for themselves a place they would turn them and their goods ashore and leave them."

We are ready to believe that this latter was not an empty threat. We know now that the Speedwell, the companion ship of the Mayflower, turned back to England because the crew of this ship repented of the bargain they had made with the Pilgrims;

that they themselves disabled the ship and so escaped carrying out the bargain. Listen to Edward Everett in his Plymouth oration in 1824. His great Orations are shelved now, with Pollok's Course of Time and Tupper's Proverbial Philosophy, but Oxford's D.C.L. and LL.D. from Cambridge indicate that once upon a time he sat in the seat of the mighty. Hear what the statesman thinks of the Mayflower gamble, standing as he does one hundred years nearer than we, and checking up the risks with an actuary's precision:

"Methinks I see it now, that one solitary adventurous vessel, the Mayflower of a forlorn hope, freighted with the prospects of a future state and bound across an unknown sea. Suns rise and set; weeks and months pass and winter surprises them on the deep, but brings them not to the sight of the wished-for land. I see them, scantily supplied with provisions, crowded almost to suffocation in their ill-stored prison;—now delayed by calms, now driven in fury before the raging tempest on the high and giddy waves.

"I see them escaped from these perils and landed after five months passage on the ice-clad rocks of Plymouth, weak and weary from their voyage, poorly armed, scantily provisioned, without shelter, without means, surrounded by hostile tribes.

"Shut now the volume of history and tell me on any principle of human probability what shall be the fate of this handful of adventurers. Tell me, man of military science, in how many months were they all swept away by the thirty savage tribes within the limits of New England? Tell me, politician, how long did this shadow of a colony languish on this distant coast. Student of history, compare for me the baffled projects, the deserted settlements, the abandoned adventures of other times and find a parallel of this.

"Was it the winter storm beating upon the houseless heads of women and children; was it disease; was it the tomahawk; was it a ruined enterprise and a broken heart aching in its last moments at the recollection of the loved and lost left across the sea?"

All these pictures are true, are vividly, tragically true, but the men we are watching did not think in terms of disaster, they did not figure on contingencies, they did not take the trouble to count their enemies. Grim, dour, crabbed men they were, whose liver always seemed to be on a strike. They have been the butt of endless ridicule. Malignants they were called, and roundheads, and separatists, by their critics. Shakespeare, in Twelfth Night, prompts Maria to say of Malvolio,

"Sometimes he's a kind of a Puritan."

To which Sir Andrew replies,

"If I thought that I'd beat him like a dog."

Cromwell, according to Lowell, calls them

"Pinched fanatics, who would rather choose
Freedom to clip an inch more from their hair
Than the great chance of setting England free."

Bill Nye, in his unique History of the United States, declares that the early settlers of New England first fell on their knees, then they fell upon the aborigines. But they knew how to overturn the English throne; they knew how to plant a new civilization in the new world. Two elements appear in their character: reverence for the Sabbath Day and respect for law. They found themselves on a Saturday coasting an island where, as Governor Bradford writes, they were secure from Indians, and where they might "dry their stuff and fix their pieces." Here they stopped, and after putting up temporary shacks they rested and worshiped during the Sabbath Day. Then the day following they marched into the land and took possession. It was a mighty experiment they were making. It was the most ambitious adventure in Democracy the world had ever known. They believed that a Democracy cannot be safe or enduring unless the Sabbath Day is carefully guarded and sacredly honored. They realized the value of definite laws. There were those of the party, declares again our old friend Governor Bradford, who determined that when they came ashore they would use their own liberty. They had pledged themselves, forsooth, for Virginia. The original destination had been the mouth of the Hudson, which by some geographical legerdemain was supposed to be located somewhere in Virginia; they had made a landing at Cape Cod. Their agreement was *nolle prosequi*. They would be their own masters and would make the new world a lively place to live in once they passed the gang-plank. So these canny Pilgrims write out a new contract in black and white and before the anchor is dropped every man must sign:

"In ye name of God, Amen. We whose names are under-written, loyall subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James; by the grace of God,

King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of ye faith, etc., having taken, for ye glory of God and advancement of ye Christian faith, a voyage to plant ye first colony in ye northern parts of Virginia; do by these presents solemnly and mutually covenant & combine ourselves into a civil body politic for our better ordering & furtherance of ye ends aforesaid. And by virtue hereof to enact such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions & offices from time to time as shall be thought most meet and convenient for ye general good of ye Colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

Here is the germ of the Declaration of Independence. Here is the United States Constitution in embryo. These forty-one heads of families, signing this grave document and electing John Carver Governor, were not Bolsheviki nor revolutionists. They and the brethren who came after them were the fathers of Massachusetts and her Governor Coolidge; and of New Hampshire and her constitutional lawyer, Daniel Webster; and of Vermont's Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys; and of Connecticut's war Governor, William Alfred Buckingham, who wrote President Lincoln in 1862, "Connecticut has more than half her men in the field; if you need more, let me know." Their ancestors, according to Macaulay, "roused the people to resistance, directed their measures through a long series of eventful years, formed the finest army Europe had ever seen, trampled down king and church and aristocracy, and made the name of England terrible to every nation on the face of the earth." They themselves laid the cornerstone of America, and their influence is felt in every day of our national life.

But whence came these institutions which make America what it is, which we have always associated with the Pilgrims, and which have made their memory sacred, until, indeed, anything in any way related to them has been dignified? Why, the furniture posing as Mayflower cargo—Sheraton, Chippendale, Second Empire, Hepplewhite, all one—chronology is non-suited when genealogy comes into count—would fill a United States bonded warehouse. The lineal descendants of the passengers are so numerous that we wonder if the few families in this little fishing smack have not multiplied like rabbits or micrococci. We have carelessly thought that these institutions also took passage in the same ship and were

transplanted from the mother soil of England. John of Gaunt, in Richard II, would indorse that claim. Only good could come from England, and good could come from England only:

> "This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
> This other Eden, demi-paradise,
> . . . . . .
> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> . . . . . .
> This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land,
> Dear for her reputation through the world."

But there was much in the Mayflower that did not come aboard in England. Much was planted in the new world that did not grow in English nurseries. Lowell says of the public school system, for instance, that it was invented by the Puritans of Massachusetts. Palfrey contends that the township, the town meeting, the recording of deeds and mortgages, were devised by the fugitives as they crossed the sea. There were no public schools in England when the Pilgrims said good-by. In the days of Edward VI, that is, in the sixteenth century, there were founded 18 grammar schools for the whole kingdom at the rate of 60 or 70 pounds for each school. This was such a momentous event that historians speak of it as casting a luster over the name of the reign of Edward. And this was the full measure of government activity in that direction for three hundred years. Not until 1870 was the system of free public schools established in England. Now note that in 1647 Massachusetts appointed a schoolmaster for every fifty householders, and in 1665 every town in Massachusetts had a public school. It could not have been the vast spaces of the new continent broadening the reach of the English mind, for in Virginia at that time Governor Berkeley was saying, "Thank God we have no free schools, and will not have for one hundred years." It was not the tonic effect of the Atlantic, for Governor Berkeley had also crossed the Atlantic. The Virginians were Englishmen of as pure a strain as the Puritans, but they—however, let us wait a moment.

The Declaration of Independence is not an English document. It could have awakened no enthusiasm in England. "That

all men are created equal" is not an English postulate. It was not accepted when the Pilgrims sailed from Plymouth. It was not an English thought when Thomas Jefferson wrote the burning words. It can scarcely be said to be an English ideal to-day. The American Constitution is not a contribution from the Motherland. The English Constitution is not written. It is an abstraction. What is constitutional to-day may be unconstitutional to-morrow by act of Parliament. A recent English writer in the National Review says: "Our Constitution reduced to its simplest elements consists of but one article: the majority of the English electoral body may do exactly what it likes with the organization of English society or the resources of the English nation." Mr. Frederick Harrison declares that "The House of Commons is an absolute autocracy." Whence, then, did these things come—these characteristics and institutions, associated with the Pilgrim Fathers, that have become the life blood and the vital tissues of the American Republic?

Do we not remember that the Pilgrims spent some twelve years in Holland before they came to Cape Cod? Very lasting impressions may be made in twelve years. Do we not know that at the time of this sojourn the schools of Holland were the property of the people and were paid for by the state? The state church was an English institution in the days of the Pilgrims. It still enters into every detail of English life. Do we not know that when these Pilgrims in Holland fared forth on the Sabbath day for public worship they found churches whose clergy were selected and elected by the congregation, churches that settled their internal affairs without interference from the state? Do we not remember that when the Puritans fled to Holland they came face to face with a written constitution, as old as A. D. 1579, which might well be the prototype of the American Constitution, in that it covers much the same ground and is founded upon the same basic principles, and that in 1581 these same Netherlanders signed a declaration of independence, deposing the King of Spain, and reciting the reasons for this deposition in language almost identical with that which has made Thomas Jefferson famous? We wonder why it is that we did not know he was plagiarizing when he

complacently posed as the writer of these revolutionary sentiments. Our Declaration of Independence was born in Holland. Our public school system was born in Holland. Our written Constitution—the guardian of the people, the refuge of the minority, the safety brake upon the overnight vagary of the populace or the selfish manipulation of the politician—this too harks back to the days of the Prince of Orange for its inception and to the Union of Utrecht for its inspiration and model. Our Puritan forefathers brought with them in the Mayflower, and later under the leadership of John Endicott, the new and large ideas of Leyden and Amsterdam and The Hague, and tried them out in Plymouth and Boston and New York.

But that is not all the story. When Charles V of Spain began his persecutions of the Protestants of The Netherlands a stream of emigration started across the channel toward England. In 1562 there were 30,000 Hollanders in England. Before the end of Alva's regime 100,000 heads of families had left their home, the most of whom came to England. Now, in the first place, the stories told by these fugitives of the deeds of the Spanish soldiers and the methods of the Spanish Inquisition doomed Spain and helped to establish Protestants in England. No other and no better propaganda can be conceived. Each fugitive became an unconscious evangelist. Every little group of homesick refugees became a clearing house for anti-Papal ideas and exposition. The Invincible Armada was defeated before it started on its fateful cruise; defeated by the atrocities these emigrants had suffered, and were now reporting, and the fear lest this fleet of King Philip bring the same program to English homes. In the second place, the headquarters of these exiled in England became the chief strongholds of Puritanism. Here their first congregations were gathered. Here Oliver Cromwell found the most of the best of his soldiers. One hundred years had the Netherlanders been in Huntingdonshire, and Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire, and Kent, then out of these countries came John Hampden, whom Gray has immortalized:

> "Some village Hampden, that with dauntless breast
> The little tyrant of his fields withstood."

Came Sir Harry Vane, who was so vital to the struggle for freedom that, when the cause seemed lost in the passing of Cromwell and the accession of Charles II, he was one of the twenty restless disturbers of royalty who were not safe to be at large. Came John Bunyan, who knew only the Bible and who dreamed a dream that is second only to the Bible in the world's reverence and reading. And from these elect counties came the Fathers of New England. The blood of John Carver and Elder Brewster and William Bradford is of the same strain with the blood of Cromwell and Pym and John Selden and Sir John Eliot. The southern and eastern counties of England received this infusion from across the Channel and out of these counties has come the voice that has spoken of liberty, and brotherhood, and human rights, and the world has stopped to listen.

John Fiske, in his Beginnings of New England, notes that two thirds of the Puritan settlers of America came from these eastern counties, and the remaining one third came from the southern coast. He does not seem to realize, however, that these are the counties in which the exiles from the Netherlands settled. He does not read between the lines and see that the sowing of the Alva persecutions in Holland produced the harvest of New England integrity and Yankee backbone one hundred years later. The English writers themselves recognized with more or less impatience the impression these refugees were making upon England. Barclay says "many places in England are too much Amsterdamnified," which sounds very much like a swear word. Perhaps it is something even worse—a bad pun. Writes Baxter, "Five or six ministers who came from Holland sowed the seed that has spread all over the land." In the Mayflower year the Spanish Ambassador seeking alliance whispers in Buckingham's ear, "The Dutch have robbed England of her fisheries, her trade, and her gold. The next thing they will carry off the country itself and make a Republic of it." It was a Mrs. Dinghen van der Plasse from Flanders who taught the English women how to starch their clothes. Surely the Dutch influence is becoming paramount when it can prescribe the fashions and dares to dictate even to the washerwoman. What comes out of all this? Why, that the

Puritan not only saved America but he saved England as well. The Mayflower brought only a handful of these restless visionaries, these pioneers of a richer and broader future. The others stayed behind and helped to make the England of John Bright, and Gladstone, and Lloyd George. They did not all come to New England. Lowell gives us a glimpse of two of them on the pier, about to sail for the New World. The Old World has become intolerable. Says Hampden:

> "O Cromwell, we are fallen upon evil times.
> There was a day when England had wide room
> For honest men as well as foolish kings.
> But now the uneasy stomach of the times
> Turns squeamish at them both. Therefore let us
> Seek out that savage clime where men as yet
> Are free."

Cromwell replies:

> "Hampden, a moment since my purpose was
> To fly with thee . . .
> But something in me bids me not to go.
> Freedom hath yet a work for me to do.
> No man is born into the world whose work
> Is not born with him.
> I will have one more grapple with the man
> Charles Stuart. . . . I will stay;
> It were sin to flee."

And so Cromwell and Hampden stayed in England. Had they embarked "the great dial hand that marks the destined progress of the world had been made to pause a hundred years."

England sorely needed the Puritans. Three hundred years ago the Spaniards who came with Philip II, the husband of Mary, on his nuptial tour, said the English houses were made of sticks and dirt. Richard Grant White writes of the home of the Mayor of Stratford, "It is a hovel, squalid and kennel-like. The poorest farmhouse in New England is a more cheerful habitation." This the highest ideal before the forming mind of the youthful Will, who is to say later on,

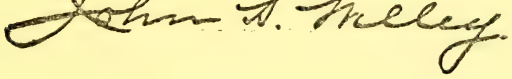
> "He that has a house to put's head in has a good head-piece."

Queen Elizabeth swore like a fish-woman. Sir John Harring-

ton, one of her god-sons, translated an indecent story from Ariosto and circulated it about the court. The Queen heard it and calling him before her reprimanded him for endangering the morals of her young maids of honor. She then condemned him to exile at his country home until the entire poem from which the story had been taken should be translated. The poem was translated and dedicated to the Queen. The May Day festivals were, like the Saturnalia of Ancient Rome, scenes of the grossest debauchery. Marlowe, the father of English tragedy, died at the age of thirty in a drunken brawl, fighting over a woman of the street. Robert Greene, the father of English comedy, became a tavern bully and died, worn out with his licentiousness, at thirty-two. But the Puritans were there. They would not leave, and they would not be still, and they would not compromise. Days of despotism were these, compared by Hume to the darkest days of Russia and Turkey, but, he continues, "The precious spark of liberty was preserved by the Puritans alone." "Depositaries of the sacred fire" were they, according to Hallam. Elizabeth, advised by Spain, would have driven them into the sea. They became the bulwark of her throne against Spain. Mary Stuart came to bring French manners and French faith to the upper half of the kingdom. A Puritan named Knox resisted her potent spells, thwarted her pet ambitions, and, according to Froude, put more life into the heart of the bewildered Scots than "five hundred trumpets blustering in our ears." Busy were the Puritans on this side the sea making a great Daughter worthy of her great Mother; busy were they in England making a Mother of whom the Daughter might be proud.

There was no king in the Netherlands. Kings have never been popular with God from the days of Saul son of Kish down to the days of Kaiser William. The Book of Kings in the Old Testament is a book of failures. It is on the down grade. It is ebb tide, and the slime flats show more and more above the refluent waters. It opens with the accession of Solomon, the son of a woman who had been dishonored by her king, and closes with the blunders and blindness of Zedekiah, bound in fetters of brass and dragged a captive to Babylon. As early as the days of the

New Testament the name of king had gotten itself into such bad odor that Jesus of Nazareth refused to claim kingship. "Art Thou the King of the Jews?" asked the judge. "Thou sayest it," answered Jesus, "not I." England has in later years taught her kings their proper place, and has caught step in the march of progress; but it was the kingless land of dykes and windmills that, passing over the heads of the kings and kinglets of the Old World, with their unclean habits and their hereditary imbecilities, has sent out its free soul into the kingless land on this side the Atlantic, and has inspired many of its noblest ideals and has helped to fashion its most glorious institutions. So came the Mayflower cabin-load of Pilgrims across the winter sea, looking for a clean spot on the map of the world where they could write the name of God and unfurl an unstained flag. And three hundred years later the old ship went back to find that the passengers who did not take passage had written the name of God all over the blessed little island from which the sailing was made, and had helped mightily to unfurl to the heavens a flag that knows no fear, that has braved a thousand years and all the seven seas, and has washed itself clean in the blood and tears of the bravest and the best.



WAS PAUL THE AFTER CHRIST?

One of the first, if not the very first, to definitely set Paul aside as a disciple who misrepresented his Master and could not be trusted was that strange and many-sided scholar and linguist De Lagarde (died 1891, aged 64), whose library and portrait you will find in one of the alcoves of New York University, who changed his name from Böttticher in 1854, who though an orientalist of wide repute was also a prophet, priest (in his own thought), and poet. We can get nothing trustworthy about Jesus from Paul, who says himself that he did not get his gospel from man and who was always unauthorized and an intruder. He greatly exaggerated sin, and brought the Jewish sacrificial theories into Christianity. It angered De Lagarde when any one quoted Paul as an authority for Christ or his teachings. But the latter was equally unhappy in his selection of other disciples. Only Peter and John attained any significance, and John's gigantic exaggerations showed how little he understood Jesus.[1] Renan of course also could not abide Paul.

It was therefore not surprising when, in 1901 (2d ed. 1904), Wernle came out with his Anfange unserer Religion to check up Paul. He complains that the apostle did not give an account of the words and deeds of Jesus, but only of the message of the crucified and risen one. The name of Jesus is in the foreground, but is it not another Jesus? Paul's theology especially is an absolutely new thing in Christianity, to be derived neither from the other apostles, nor from Judaism, nor from Jesus, but mainly from his vision on the way to Damascus and from his apologetic or preaching needs. The main point is Christ as redeemer of his people. Paul paints the world in much blacker colors than Christ in order to make his light the brighter. He brings in the idea, Out of the church no salvation, which hitherto was only a Jewish principle. If not the creator of the Catholic sacrament doctrine he is at least the continuer of it, and he accommodated Greek superstitions to the

[1] These views Lagarde brought out in 1873 in the first of his so-called Deutschen Schriften on the relation of the German state to theology, church, and religion (ges. Ausg., 1886, 69ff).

Supper. Jesus brought redemption to his own without describing it, Paul connected it with Jewish and Greek conceptions and bound it to the church and its institutions. And he makes faith in Jesus not faith in his whole work and passion as redeemer, but only in the cross and resurrection of God's Son. He also invented a Christology, and disconnects it from the real person and life of Jesus.

But even liberals have complained of the temperamental and contradictory in young Wernle, and his laying on the deep colors.[2] Still he admits that Paul understood Jesus better than any of his predecessors, and that Paul did not invent or discover Jesus, but that Jesus found Paul and completely possessed him. And in spite of his Christology it is really Jesus whom he brings, and through whom he conquered the world. And Jesus was really Redeemer; here Paul was interpreter, not inventor. "The loving devotion to death whereby the Son of God redeems mankind springs out of historical reality. So Paul returns back finally to Jesus." And it was the real Jesus who shone upon him from the circle of the persecuted disciples and took him captive. His theology before conversion Paul overturned and spilled out. "There is only one Christian theology of the apostle. Every word of his letters springs from his Christian consciousness." And yet he borrows from Judaism and from Jewish apocalyptic. "The Son of God, the seed of David, prophesied by the prophets, proved to be the Son of God by the awakening from the dead—that is the old Messianic figure." His high estimation of Jesus is also Jewish. But he changed his whole Jewish platform for the Christian, and his theory of the "flesh of sin" is neither Jewish nor Greek, but an original creation. Yes, there are contradictions in Wernle. Still there are remarkable coincidences between Paul and Jesus, and the disciple reproduces the Master with surprising fidelity, and the young Basel professor does not call the Tarsian the Second Founder of Christianity, as does Wrede.

In 1905 the Breslau professor Wrede, a brilliant and original spirit, came out with the definite discovery in his little book,

[2] See von Dobschutz, Probleme des apostol Zeitalters, p.1, and Vischer, in Theol. Rundschau, 1905, 174-5.

Paulus (2 Aufl. 1907), that Paul created a new religion. His doctrine of Christ, which was his central idea and a new creation and which made him the founder of orthodoxy, was Paul's chief offense. He placed as the foundation of religion the salvation-deeds of Christ, incarnation, death, resurrection, changed the simple living teachings of Jesus into a complicated piece of reflection, the piety of Jesus into another form of religion, that is, into a dogma of redemption by a history that plays its part between God and man. Paul put mythology in the middle point of religion, connected it closely with a lot of thoroughly Jewish ideas, like the general sinfulness of man or the almighty willfulness of God, the opposition between two worlds, ethical pessimism, doctrine of angels and demons, his idea of Scripture, of the Fall and its consequences, and of the future, and then placed faith in this new dogmatics before goodness of character, on which alone Jesus laid weight. Paul was not a disciple of Jesus, but his creator. Not that certain precepts of Jesus were not known to him from tradition and were valid, not that there were not occasionally in Jesus slight traces of Paul's later theology, not that the development from Jesus to Paul was not inevitable; but that in all chief points the apostle struck out a new path, and in doing that founded the Christian religion.

Of course the books of Wernle and Wrede made a sensation, but their conclusions were not swallowed even by men of the left. Thus Julius Kaftan, of the right wing of the Ritschlians, came out with an able pamphlet against them.[3] Paul did indeed teach redemption, but not a doctrine in our sense, much less as an artistically constructed doctrine in Wrede's sense, *but as experience.* Not seeing this makes Wrede leave out of account Paul's doctrine of justification. Kaftan says you cannot carry out this new separation between Jesus and Paul, and this so-called Jesus religion which is now proclaimed never existed; it is a thing without a root. The gospel was never simply a teaching which Christ gave, but from its very beginning it was a gospel of a crucified and risen One. Not by his teaching but by his resurrection did Christ become an object of faith to his disciples and to later Chris-

[3] Jesus und Paulus, Tübingen, 1906.

tianity. Paul did not preach differently, but simply brought to full validity the gospel of Jesus. Thus Kaftan.

Some time has passed since Wernle and Wrede so violently stirred the pool of New Testament criticism, but the question of Paul's originality is a burning one to-day. It is still fundamental with the "modern" man to shove by Paul in his quest for Jesus, and to be impatient with what he claims the church has accepted from Paul in place of the simple Nazarene himself. It is therefore as necessary to-day as when the ardent young Swiss Wernle and the radical Göttingen-Breslau theologian Wrede burst upon our ken with their new hypothesis—as necessary to look fairly at the question whether Christianity in its historic substance goes back beyond the great apostle to his Master.

It must be confessed that in the ordinary sense Jesus was no organizer, nor systemizer, nor theologian. Not for that did he come. His historic place or function was different. So far there is truth in Wrede. He did not come to do Paul's work. It was part of the humiliation of Christ as well as his pedagogical method to live, teach, and act under the conditions of his time and country, on the background of Palestine in A. D. 30; and it was specially his method to do *his* work and not his disciples', to lead a life of love and light, to die in order to pour out his blood of the covenant for many (Mark 14. 24), and to go back to the Father that the Holy Spirit might come and lead his followers into all truth. A full statement of Christianity on his part would have been premature, would have been pedagogically unwise if not worthless. "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now" (John 16. 12). Has he not been saying them through the Spirit of truth ever since? His earth's method was his own—first the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear (Mark 4. 28). Such a full statement would also have been philosophically and spiritually impossible, for Christianity was not a set of teachings by Christ. If it had been we should never have heard of it. There was no man with a literary bent among the disciples, and the Gospels we have are the later prompting of religious and missionary needs. There was no one to say, Ah, look at what a philosopher and teacher we had. Christianity was not a set of instructions, though it included

them, but a new life, a religion springing out of Christ's life, death, resurrection, ascension, and mediatorial activity in history through the Spirit, who works on his disciples and on the world through that life, death, etc. The only question is whether, so far as Christ's teachings were concerned, the apostles were true to the content and spirit of those teachings. Did they bring in a new doctrine, or did their message fit into the situation made by the historical-background Christ, and was it the necessary consequence of his words and deeds?[4]

I have elsewhere shown how some of the main historic features of our religion which are a stumblingblock to the modern man go back to the message of Jesus as set forth in the synoptic Gospels, and it will be sufficient here to indicate a few points, possibly not brought in there, in which Paul was not an inventor nor intruder. The reader will remember Harnack's well-known assertion that the "whole of Jesus's message may be reduced to these two heads: God as Father, and the human soul so ennobled that it can and does unite with him,"[5] a pretty meager remnant, both heads in the Old Testament and even in heathenism, and so quite superfluous as the object of Christ's coming. The peculiar and far more pressing message, that Christ himself is Saviour, that his own person is part of his message, is left out, but it is Harnack, and not Himself, who leaves it out. It is not the Father simply but himself who must be loved more than father and mother, and it is for himself that the cross must be taken up in a following not of the Father but of himself (see references to all these points in note). It is confession not of the Father but of him which determines acknowledgment in the eternal world, where judgment is rendered not according to one's love of God, or faith in God, but according to one's attitude to him (Christ) in his unfortunate ones. Instead of referring men to the Father Christ forgives sins himself, and, like Paul, he reckons all men as needing this forgiveness. He prepared the way for Paul's doctrine of righteousness, negatively in demanding a humble sense of sin, inner fitness or perfection, and positively in requiring recourse to him, and not to God the Father, by those who felt the

[4] Faulkner, Justification, in International Standard Bible Encyclopedia, iii., 1785.
[5] What is Christianity? 1901, 68.

burden of their sins, to him who was the rest-giver, who thus takes the place of the Jehovah of the still waters and the green pastures, who restoreth my soul, an echo of Rom. 5. 1. For it was specially those to whom, as to the awakened Paul, the law brought condemnation that he—not simply the Father—came to heal and to save. It was for sinners and to sinners that he came, just as Paul understood, and therefore as Saviour, and not simply as the preacher of God the Father, much less as a social reformer and political reorganizer. The way to this salvation was not better lawkeeping, but confession of sin and trusting prayer, exactly equivalent to faith; or it was the humble heart and hunger for righteousness, also equivalent to faith. In the true spirit of Paul, Christ also teaches that he who brings the most of himself, of his own pride and works, is the least likely to obtain the kingdom of heaven. Not only entrance but the final reward itself is of grace, also in the spirit of Paul, in anticipation of whose message was the promise of paradise to the penitent robber. At the beginning the message sounded out, Repent ye, and believe the gospel—the gospel which was summed up in Christ, who would gather the people not directly to God the Father but to himself (see ref.). All this means that faith in himself, in him as the Son of God, of which faith he speaks with anxiety (faith in God the Father he and all who heard him took for granted), and the presence of which he greeted with joy. And no sooner was his person as the Son of God rightly estimated than he began to unfold the absolute necessity ("must," δεῖ) of his death and resurrection. In the evening before he was to be offered up he brings out the significance of that death, not as martyrdom, not as witness to his teaching, not as showing how we should die, but as covenant bloodshed for (ὑπὲρ, for the sake of, sometimes, instead of) many, in fact the giving up of his soul as a ransom for (ἀντί, instead of) many. After his resurrection he still insists that there was a religious necessity (ἔδει) to suffer these things, and to enter into his own glory (a word that has to do with the ineffable effulgence of the Eternal God himself).[6] Paul could hardly have

[6] Matt. 10. 37-9; 16. 24-7; 10. 32; 25. 35ff; 9. 2-6; 6. 12; 5. 3; 5. 6, 8, 20, 48; 11. 28; Mark 2 17; Matt. 9. 13; Luke 15. 7; 15. 2; 7. 39; 19. 7; Matt. 11. 19; Luke 18. 13; Matt. 5. 3, 6; 18. 3, 4; Mark 10. 14; Matt. 19. 30; 20. 1-16; Luke 24. 43; Mark 1. 15; Matt. 23. 37; 16. 13-16; Luke 13. 8; Matt. 8. 10; Mark 14. 24; Luke 24. 26.

expressed the fact of atonement through Christ's death better than the latter does in Matt. 20. 28; 26. 28. With this whole foundation, could the Christian doctrine of salvation take any other course than that it actually did take? Ihmels is right therefore in holding that Paul's proclamation was continuous with the self-witness of Jesus, which pointed as a consequence or development to the witness of Paul.[7] There was no serious teaching of the apostle, which was original with him, which did not have distinct premonitions in Jesus.

The discovery by the liberal, therefore, of a different gospel in Paul than in Christ as to the divinity of Christ, atonement, salvation, justification, and the ordinary elements of Christian teaching, is the discovery of a mare's-nest.[8] If we had the synoptic Gospels alone there is not one essential element of our religion as Paul conceived it that is not already there in the germ. For this reason the radical or consistent Unitarian has very little more patience with those Gospels than he has with Paul. Or he explains the deeper parts of them away as themselves Pauline, as showing a later deposit, as interpolated, as anything, to get rid of them as a witness for Christ. Is the trouble with the Gospels or with his own presuppositions? Luke was the friend of Paul, but if there is a human Gospel in the world it is Luke's. But the divine parts are there too. Mark represented Peter, another circle, but the objectionable elements are in Mark too. There is no recourse. In order to get rid of the deeper things in the Gospels which have Paul in their roots you would have to lay them waste with a plowshare of criticism as deep as the shell-holes of war-torn France of 1914-18. The residuum left would present some beautiful thoughts, but as a force for redeeming and converting the Roman world, or for explaining Christianity as a dynamic for righteousness, it would be nil.

I think Paul's own witness is not to be despised. No one accuses him of dishonesty or of self-deception. Did he think he was innovating on Jesus? On the contrary, he gloried in being

[7] Read Encyk. f. prot. Theol. und Kirche, 16. 490 (3 Aufl.) See Faulkner in International Standard Bible Encyclopedia, 1785.

[8] Read especially the objective putting of Jesus's teaching by Ihmels in Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift, 1906, 456ff (Jesus und Paulus).

not simply the servant, but the slave, of Jesus. He loved him, he followed him, and it was the ambition of his life to witness for him, to speak his thoughts, to have his Spirit, to represent his mind. To have brought in another gospel than Christ's would have killed him with chagrin and remorse. Paul himself was not conscious of any such lapse from Christ.

What about his contemporaries? His friends certainly never threw in his face any betrayal of Christ. Did his enemies? Outside of the Gnostics, who taught another gospel with a vengeance (see Colossians), Paul had two kinds of enemies. There were those who fought him for not insisting on circumcision for the Gentiles. But we don't know that they ever alleged Christ for their side as over against Paul's. Then there were those who were nervous over the method of Paul's Gentile mission and not clear as to his treatment of the Jews, in which the question of circumcision and other Jewish matters were mixed up. These were moderate enemies (in fact they could hardly be called enemies) and the apostles themselves were at first a mild section of them. But did any of these allege betrayal of Christ by Paul, departure from Christ's preaching, or anything of the kind? Our sources do not so inform us. So far as we know there was not a single objector who ever appealed to Christ on any subject as over against Paul. And as to his main witness on those fundamental things which have made Christianity what it has been through the centuries from Jesus till to-day there is not a scintilla of evidence that he was ever accused of departing from his Master.

What were the sources of Paul's knowledge of Christ and Christian things? There was first, the common information possessed by every intelligent person who had anything to do with Palestine, and especially any Jew, who would be naturally interested in an alleged Messiah. Besides, Paul had been a fierce persecutor, and was therefore intensely concerned to know whom and why he was persecuting. He was no amused observer standing aloof in indifference as to the new faith, but his whole soul was wrapt up in knowing and fighting it.

There was, second, his intercourse with Ananias and other disciples at Damascus, with disciples at Antioch, with apostles and

others in Jerusalem, what he learned in Arabia, etc., and it is not to be supposed that a so wide-awake, inquisitive, eager spirit would not exploit his opportunities to the utmost. It is true that he celebrates his independence ("neither went I up to Jerusalem to them that were apostles before me," Gal. 1. 17), but he is speaking here of his call to be an apostle, which depended not on authorization from the twelve, which he did not seek. As to general knowledge, his fifteen days with Peter in Jerusalem (verse 18) would not be misspent.

But, third, Paul himself brings in revelation here as a source of his truth. He glories that his gospel was not after man, nor did he receive it from man, nor was taught it, but it came through revelation of Jesus Christ (verses 11, 12). Of course revelation would not give him the facts of Christ's life and teaching, because it is not the substitute for inquiry and study nor the abettor of laziness. On all these things God's method is, Come and see; Seek and ye shall find. What revelation gave was his Good Tidings, that alone the substance of his religious message. Now it is not to be assumed, I think, that that revelation would contradict another, or contradict what Christ and the apostles taught, for there is likely no schism in God. At least it is not to be assumed without evidence. Of course in methods, ways, expression, in the periphery of Christianity, in matters not at the heart and therefore not included in the revelation, there will be differences of judgment, opinion, approach, due to education, environment, etc.; but if Paul spoke the truth in claiming this source of his Glad Tidings it is probable that his Teacher or Inspirer and Peter's were (or was) not at sixes and sevens.

Fourth, even liberal critics admit that Paul's Damascus vision was one chief source of his gospel or of his revelation. If that vision was from God, and if Christ was from God, I hardly think there was any essential departure in Paul's gospel from that of Christ and his apostles. Fifth, the Old Testament has an important place as a common fountain for both Jesus and Paul. There was hardly an element in the religious testimony of both for which they did not either appeal to the Old Testament or for which the Old Testament could not be appealed to. Paul was insistent

on this. It is as though he said: I am not foisting on you, my brother Jews, a lot of new ideas from foreign sources, but everything in my gospel, the Christ as divine, as Son of God, atonement, his life, death, resurrection, ascension, salvation as a free gift from God, justification by faith alone, all these and other things are in your own prophets and psalmists if you would but open your eyes and see. And so, although Christ corrected, enlarged, or spiritualized the law, he felt himself bound up in God's bundle of life which we call the Old Testament, and, so to speak, to have stepped out of it to call his people back to a true appreciation of it.

No, Paul was not the creator of Christianity. He took no laurels from his Master. But he might be called the second founder of it. He broke in on paganism in Asia and Europe with a strategic knowledge of great centers, with a statesmanlike adaptation of means and ends, and yet with a zeal, fiery force, and intellectual and spiritual power which made the second epoch of Christianity and assured it its final triumph. He interpreted Christianity to both Judaism and paganism and he interpreted both to Christianity, and so laid down the bridge on which Jew and Greek could go over into Christ. He explained and defended our religion, and presented it in that shape which made it intellectually reasonable and evangelistically effective.

Paul was neither the "Second Founder of Christianity" nor did he teach "another gospel" than that of Christ. But he was the deepest and richest in spirit among the first witnesses of Christ. That is the reason why among all the New Testament men he comprehended most deeply the nature of Christ and the peculiarity of the Christian religion, and that he created on the other hand formulas and combinations which were new in relation to tradition. That expresses the peculiarity of his thought-world.

One can call Paul the first theologian, for it is the task of theology to create for the revelation of Christ forms of expression pertinent to the times and effective. But Paul was more than a theologian and less; more, for he had experienced revelation itself; less, for he had never deliberately striven for a whole view of Christianity. The deeper and richer a spirit is the more original will be his understanding of revelation, but the brighter will his whole thought-world express the fundamental tendency of the revelation. There is no man in history of whom that is true in the measure it is of Paul. He proclaimed *his* gospel, and yet it was Christ's gospel. Every thought of this infinitely versatile and rich spirit had only *one* object; namely, to get hold of the revelation of Christ in its depth.

"I live, yet not I, Christ lives in me." The fundamental thoughts of Christianity received through Paul for all time their standard expression[9]

Or, if I might quote from F. W. Orde Ward, B.A.:

St. Paul was the sole apostle with a cosmopolitan mind, who could be and was all things to all men, without compromising the great Christian truths. He was invincible, because he knew that he was really possessed with the Spirit of Jesus, who spoke and lived and worked through him. Christus auctor ecclesiæ, Paulus ædificator, Christus creavit, Paulus disposuit. . . . He always gave the glory to God, and confessed his work was Christ's and not his. He felt the dignity of the divine commission, and was consequently proud and jealous not for himself, but for the honor of the Master whom he served so faithfully and so long. His sympathy covered a multitude of sins and embraces every sinner—at a time when men and women alike knew how to sin. [It is one of the objections to Paul in favor of Christ that the former had a much more pessimistic view of human nature, a more somber view of sin and of actual sins. It is true that Paul wrote Rom. 1. 18-32, sufficiently frank, but Jesus said those terrific words in Matt. 23 concerning the most respectable and supposedly pious people in the world. Can you beat it? I suspect that Paul did not have, however, the fine feeling of Jesus concerning children, but in that Jesus was 1900 years ahead of his time. But that Jesus did not share Paul's view of the so-called fall of man and its consequences is impossible; because Christ was nursed on the Old Testament, and all its main religious ideas and history he took over as a matter of course, though he had no more occasion to be always referring to those ideas and history than a professor of Church History has to be proving to his students the existence of God. Paul never went quite so far as John 8. 44. Oh no; Jesus was no liberal on sin. Besides, he swung the thunder-bolts of hell too often for that.] But in the worst he (Paul) saw a potential Christ, he saw a spark of the heavenly fire and the divine image. The way in which he absolutely identified himself with his Lord, he who was once a blasphemer and persecutor and the arch-enemy of the infant church, we know because it is recorded in his epistles. But the secret of his Christianity, or the abolition and regeneration of his own personality in the personality of his Saviour, is a secret still to most people. And those who do know it cannot reveal it.[10]

[9] R. Sceberg, Paulus und Jesus, in Aus Religion und Geschichte, Leipz., 1906, i, 102.

[10] Ward, Christ and St. Paul the Epi-Christ, in The London Quarterly Review, July, 1919, 50, 52.

SPIRITUAL HINTS FROM NATURE

I. Cleanliness

One of the supreme efforts in nature is in keeping the world clean. She wraps the fruit in a sanitary package and keeps it clean and wholesome for food. Should the wrapper become broken, she at once sets her agents—molds and rots—to work and destroys it as quickly as possible. The presence of these agents is evidence that an article is unfit for food and that it has been condemned by Nature.

She uses her rays of sunlight to kill disease germs, and has bidden man to look and bathe in her sunshine if he would preserve health. Our fathers and mothers were obedient children of Nature, for they spread their clothing and bed clothes regularly in the sunlight, and their milk vessels were washed in water and bathed in the golden sunbeams. Nature rewarded them in good health, and kept disease germs from finding lodgment in their homes and from out their bodies. Having become disobedient children, we have become a nation of diseased men and women and cannot build hospitals fast enough to accommodate the sick and helpless. With God's wasted panacea shining all around us, that is waiting to rid our nation of disease and restore health to the human family, we pass it by and accept instead the physician's prescription and a berth in the hospital.

Nature, in making an apple, encloses it in a tough skin, germ proof, and as a further guarantee against disease germs, she covers it with a wax that if scraped off with a knife, may be burned like oil.

This example of cleanliness is strongly emphasized in most animal life. The raccoon washes his food before he eats it. If water is not available, he rolls the food in his paws to cleanse it before eating. The Swiss milch goats are so cleanly in their habits, that no tubercular germ has been able to reach the rich health-giving milk of these animals. The katydids and mantis, as well as other insects, bathe their bodies to keep them clean.

This example of cleanliness so much exemplified in Nature is heeded less by the human family. If Nature condemns all food soon after the wrapper is broken, should not man condemn the evil that creeps in, in our effort to accomplish the good? If theaters and other places of amusement were under the governing laws of Nature, she would keep them pure and wholesome, else she would close them down forever. That our amusements must be tinctured with unwholesome things that stain the human mind is no more necessary and natural than that an apple or orange should be a third or half decayed before it is fit for food. Nature asks for cleanliness in every creature—God asks for cleanliness in every heart.

II. Autumnal Beauty

The richness of autumn colors is not a painting simply to please the eye, but a natural result of useful lives well spent. In nature, everything strives to accomplish a certain purpose. The beautiful colors of autumn are only the evidences that trees and plants have lived successful lives, and therefore it is a kind of celebration of victories. But how often the human family errs in thinking that the frosts and freezes in autumn are responsible for the beautiful autumn colors of forests and field. Jack Frost has been pictured as a fairy who cunningly steals among the tree tops, and leaves the sweet gum, the maple, the sumac, the dogwood, oak, and other trees with their charming colors. But the autumn colors are natural, and always follow a well-spent life. All summer the leaves have been constantly at work manufacturing the food that fed every part of the trees and shrubs, even to their remotest roots. The green bodies in a leaf are the chlorophyll which gives the greenish color to the foliage, and carry on the manufacturing of the food by taking the carbonic acid gas from the air and combining the carbon with the hydrogen, oxygen and the several minerals that are brought to the leaves from the soil beneath. The coming of cool weather causes these leaf-factories to slow down their factory and as the cold days continue, eventually their doors are shut forever. All the food that the leaves contain when the time comes to shut their doors is hurriedly

dispatched to the branches and body of the trees, so that when the warm days of spring come the trees will have enough food to keep them going until new leaves are produced to manufacture the food the following year. When the chlorophyll is broken into its principal parts, all that is left in the dismantled leaf factory are a few oil globules, crystals and yellow refractive bodies. It is these bodies that give the leaves the wonderful beautiful colors in autumn. The leaves of some trees, like the maple, dogwood, sourwood and gum, often happen to contain more sugar than they can readily dispatch for storage in the tree and branches, and it is the combination of this sugar with other chemicals in the leaves that gives them their brightly colored leaves. When the leaves have stored the food in the trees, they drop down to the ground to decay and furnish the roots with rich vegetable matter to be remade again.

There is not a tree that goes into winter quarters without full preparation for the new life that it is to again take up in the spring. The richness of its autumn foliage is only a reflection of the glory of its past life and it is the last preparation for the joyful life that awaits it in the future.

There is not a human being who lives naturally but who leads a useful and honorable life—a life the autumn of which is the happiest and most beautiful of all the years preceding it. The autumn of a good man's life reflects the beauties of beneficent deeds that far out-rival the richness of autumn colors, and he passes on to his new life as naturally prepared for service and enjoyment there as the trees and shrubs are prepared to resume their wonderful work when spring comes back again.

III. Nature's Abhorrence for Weaklings

Nature maintains no poorhouses or charitable institutions whatsoever. She fails not to express her utter abhorrence for weaklings. This is not an indication that God is unmerciful, and unmindful of his creatures beneath man, but by the laws of nature it is impossible for weaklings to exist.

Take for example the garden spider. The female lays from five hundred to two thousand eggs, which are placed in a silken

bag and securely fastened to a twig. In early spring the many eggs hatch and the stronger spiders devour the weaker. When they have reached the proper age, they gnaw a hole in the silken bag and out marches an army of strong, healthy spiders, that represent physical perfection, and who are amply able to care for themselves during the rest of their days, without any material assistance from nature. In nothing are the laws of nature more strongly emphasized than in the mating of the honey bee. When the queen bee is ready to choose a mate of the thousands of suitors, Nature has given her an instinctive method by which it is impossible for her to become mated with a weakling. When the great moment has arrived, she takes flight, and up and up she goes. As she moves onward, one by one the weaker lovers fall back, until only one remains. He is the champion for health and strength, and it is he whom she chooses to be her mate. So the offspring of the bee always have the strongest for their parents, and in this way nature avoids the breeding of weaklings. For the simple reason that nature has set laws that prevent the breeding of weaklings, she needs to maintain no almshouses or charity wards of any kind.

In the 9th chapter of the Acts is told the story of a good woman by the name of Dorcas, who became noted for her deeds of charity for the sick, the poor, the hungry. We must not minimize the deeds that Dorcas did, and we must continue to minister unto the sick, the poor, and the hungry, but our charity must step beyond and eradicate the branch and root of the evils that make men sick, hungry, and poor. Of course we cannot take literally nature's way of destroying the weakling spiders, but we can take her example, and the lesson taught, and destroy and devour the evil forces in the world that tend to make both physical and spiritual weaklings of humanity. The very fact that we have poorhouses and organizations for charity is a self-admission that we have been neglectful. When we have destroyed the cause for poverty and sickness, the poorhouse, the penal institution and charitable institution will pass out of existence, because we shall have no need for them.

The lesson of the queen bee only lays emphasis on the

necessity of enacting laws on eugenics as a means of preventing physical and mental weaklings being brought into the world. The man whose business or profession makes people poor, and which enriches him, becomes the greatest hypocrite the world has ever known when he with his accumulated wealth turns his ill-gained coin back to charity to relieve those whom he or his profession has made poor and weaklings. By man's own sins and neglect we have weaklings on the earth, and until we destroy the agents and agencies that bring the conditions about, we must continue our charity and help, and while thus serving we must bear in mind that we can serve humanity best by getting at the root of the evil instead of the branch.

A man or woman who is a spiritual weakling is to be pitied. Above everything else, God most admires men and women who are strong in their religious faith. It remains within the power of every individual, no matter what are the conditions of his physical body, to be strong spiritually, for neither does God or man admire a spiritual weakling.

Robert A. Walker

THE CHURCH AND THE CHILD

It has been often pointed out that among the great modern nations the United States and France are the only nations in which religious instruction and training are explicitly excluded from the public schools. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of such an exclusion of one of the most important elements in education from the formal instruction of the public school system, the fact remains that we have in this country a secular or non-religious system of public education, and that the responsibility which falls upon the church to supply the need for religious instruction and nurture is therefore the more imperative. This need has been consciously and systematically met for our Roman Catholic population by an elaborate system of parochial schools, in which religious training is one of the most important parts of the curriculum, and less systematically and thoroughly by the Protestant denominations through a system of Sunday schools, in which more or less haphazard instruction in the Bible is offered, with but little attention to other subjects of religious training, such as church doctrine, hymnology, church history, and the like, which are usually included in those European schools, for example, in which religion is taught as a regular part of the school curriculum.

It is not the purpose here to deal with the general question of the child's need for instruction in the Bible, a topic which has been treated elsewhere,[1] nor with the subject of the organization and methods of the Sunday school, a topic large and important enough for separate treatment. The present aim will be to deal with a number of special topics such as the participation of the child in the general services and in the social life of the church, instruction in religious doctrine, and the conditions for ultimate admission of the child to full membership in the church organization.

The question of the participation of the child in the general service of the church is evidently a difficult one, and the practice

[1] See Methodist Review, January–February, 1920.

of the church in the past has hardly had reassuring results. Either the child has been obliged to sit passively through a service in which he felt little interest and for which he had small understanding, thus often forming a lifelong distaste for Sunday service, or else he has been permitted to remain away from the church service altogether, and either sent to the Sunday school for an hour's instruction, or else given the freedom of the house or the street for the entire day.

Viewed from a pedagogical point of view, the fundamental difficulty with the church service is that, owing to the miscellaneous character of the church congregation, it violates the basic law of all teaching, known in psychological terminology as the Herbartian law of apperception, according to which the subject matter and the method of teaching must be suited to the stage of development and the special acquirements of the mind with which we have to deal. Badly as this law is often violated in the Sunday school, where the same lesson is taught to the tender youth and to the man of mature years, and where the grading of the public school is rarely carried through with any thoroughness, the matter stands infinitely worse in the church service, where often the same message is presented to hearers of every age and every grade of intellectual maturity. Gifted indeed is the preacher who can suit his message to such a variety of temperament, education, and experience, and it is not to be wondered at that for the most part his discourse is either too elementary for the more mature and sophisticated, or else too abstruse to appeal to the mind of the child or the youth who may be trying to share in the service.

There are two ways out of this difficulty. One is to have special services for children, with such a message as is adapted to them, or else to make the general service more preponderantly ritualistic, with a minimum of the didactic element and of preaching, and a correspondingly larger amount of ritual and worship. The principal objection to the double service, one for children and another for adults, is that it is likely to impose too heavy a burden upon the already overtaxed clergyman, and thus to diminish the value of both services by dividing his attention and energy. Moreover, a church service whose beauty and dignity have been enhanced

by a noble form of ritual is likely to have an intrinsically greater interest for young and old alike than a service of which the sermon is the principal feature, and the other parts of the service are either subordinate or unattractive; too often, one fears, both. There is no reason why a form of church service cannot be devised which will appeal to the intelligence and the love of beauty of young and old alike. The existence of a large literature of devotion, much of it of surpassing richness and beauty, would seem to argue strongly for the possibility of a general service from whose significance and profit none would be wholly excluded. Such a service would seem to be advisable on general grounds, since religion does not make its appeal primarily to the intellect, but to the emotional nature and the will. Hence also its natural medium is imagery and symbolism, not the abstract and conceptual forms of the intellect. The dogmas of the church are capable of a variety of interpretations, and are subjects of never-ending controversy, but the longings of the heart remain the same from age to age. Creeds come and go, but the sense of dependence and the instinct to worship are perennial in the human breast, remaining even when the intellect's beliefs yield and change under the influence of criticism and reflection.

Following a trustworthy instinct, the church, especially in America, has of late increasingly recognized the intimate relation between the child's normal religious development and his physical and social life, and has accordingly assumed more responsibility for providing the child with the social and recreational opportunities which he would otherwise seek under less favorable auspices than the church can afford. As opposed to the older attitude condemning outright many of the "worldly amusements," and forbidding the child's participation in them, it is nowadays more fully recognized that some of them have definite educational and recreational possibilities, and that it is the part of wisdom to turn the child's energies into wholesome channels, instead of merely seeking to extirpate or suppress instincts and impulses which, in themselves, are both natural and useful. The boy is after all a boy, and it is idle and mischievous to try to turn him into a miniature man by a system of repressive education which can only have

the effect of stunting his natural growth and producing physical and moral effeminacy.

As opposed to the older repressive measures, there are two positive ways of assisting the child's moral and religious life, and these are, of course, not wholly distinct, but are intimately related to one another. The one way is to place before the child ideals of conduct which will strengthen his will against evil choices; the other is to surround him with an environment which will make evil choices difficult and a wholesome life natural and easy for him. Of these two methods, the church formerly followed the first almost exclusively; but it is now seen that a mere reliance on moral suasion is not sufficient, and makes too great a demand on the child's moral nature. The inability of motives and ideals by themselves to influence the will for good when the natural tendencies and the environmental surroundings combine to incline it in the contrary direction has been described with characteristic skill in the chapter on the Will in James's Psychology. "Men do not differ so much," James writes, "in their mere feelings and conceptions. Their notions of possibility and their ideals are not so far apart as might be argued from their differing fates. No class of them have better sentiments or feel more constantly the difference between the higher and the lower path in life than the hopeless failures, the sentimentalists, the drunkards, the schemers, the 'deadbeats,' whose life is one long contradiction between knowledge and action, and who, with full command of theory, never get to holding their limp characters erect. No one eats of the fruit of the tree of knowledge as they do; as far as moral insight goes, in comparison with them, the orderly and prosperous philistines whom they scandalize, are sucking babes. And yet their moral knowledge, always there grumbling in the background, discerning, commenting, protesting, longing, half resolving, never wholly resolves, never gets its voice out of the minor into the major key, or its speech out of the subjunctive into the imperative mood, never breaks the spell, never takes the helm into its hands. In such characters as Rousseau and Restif it would seem as if the lower motives had all the impulsive efficacy in their hands. The more ideal motives exist alongside of them in profusion, but they never get

switched on, and the man's conduct is no more influenced by them than an express train is influenced by a wayfarer standing by the roadside and calling to be taken aboard."

Evidently, in such cases, the only measure which promises any assurance of success is to surround the individual with such conditions as to make evil difficult or impossible. So long as the possibility of indulgence is within the reach of the weakly organized individual, the chances that he will hold out against temptation through the help of his innate ideals are small indeed. The importance of ideals should of course not be minimized; but they should be given the best possible opportunity to realize themselves by all the reenforcement through outside conditions which can be brought into play.

The duty of the church, then, is clear: to substitute good environments for bad, so as to give an opportunity for the various impulses of the child to find a wholesome outlet and expression. The child's love for a "good time" and for social intercourse must be reckoned with: but instead of allowing him to seek these in the questionable dance hall or in the promiscuous company of the public park and similar resorts, an opportunity for social dancing and other such recreation under wholesome conditions and under favorable auspices must be provided. The motion picture has come to stay, and is a source of entertainment for millions. But instead of allowing questionable plays to monopolize the screen, they must be driven out by offering the young, in schools and churches, and through the censorship of the picture theater by the better elements in the community, similar entertainment of artistic and educational merit. Boys and young men have a rightful interest in each other's association, and in athletic games and sports. They will gratify these interests in the pool room, the saloon, and on the professional baseball field, with their often undesirable associations, unless some effective substitutes for these are found. If the question is raised as to what institutions are responsible for providing these more wholesome conditions and opportunities, the answer is, the home, the school and the church. And since the school too often feels that its duties do not extend beyond the intellectual training of the young, the responsibility which falls upon

the home and the church in these respects is the more weighty and imperative. It must be confessed, however, that, with the exception of the institutional churches found in the larger cities, and the Young Men's Christian Association, the activities of the church in this field have been on the whole negligible, the little social diversion in the form of Sunday school picnics, church suppers and fairs, and similar functions, being too sporadic in occurrence, and too devoid of interest for the average modern child, to compete effectively with the hundred and one forms of entertainment provided by commercial and other miscellaneous agencies. There is no question that an important field for the church's usefulness in providing social and recreational opportunities for young people remains unexplored; but the provision of means and ways must be left for each denomination to work out in the light of its own special traditions and opportunities.

A subject somewhat difficult of treatment nowadays, owing to the shift of emphasis from the doctrinal to the ethical elements in religion, is that of the child's instruction in the doctrines and usages of the church to which he belongs, or of which he is to become a member. Ideally, indeed, the church does not aim primarily at instruction, but at inspiration. It is not merely one among other agencies, at any rate, for the impartation of knowledge: it aims rather to spiritualize all the rest, pointing them to their true goal. By its emphasis upon the infinite worth of life, and of the ultimate value of the spiritual, it has ever been man's saviour from pessimism and materialism.

The education actually offered by the schools, however, is often very incomplete. In the first place, a somewhat too conscious attempt to observe the principle of religious neutrality has resulted in a failure on the part of the schools to give adequate recognition to religious literature, history, art, and similar subjects, a defect which the church will be obliged to remedy, if it is to be remedied at all. It is to be hoped, however, that the schools will recognize their larger duty toward these important materials and devote to them the attention which their moral and historical significance deserves, thus leaving the church free to concentrate its efforts upon more strictly devotional and inspirational aims.

It is urged by some, however, that the present is a time when ideas of church federation are gaining strong foothold, and when interdenominational efforts should be encouraged. But the teaching of the church dogmas and usages of the past would act as a dividing influence, and would retard such progress as has been achieved in the direction of religious unification. It is possible, however, to exaggerate this view, and there is a point of importance here which a somewhat artificial straining after religious liberalism has sometimes caused us to overlook. This is that while the religious life is in a sense something fluid and homogeneous, it necessarily specifies itself, especially in a democratic society, into a number of institutional forms, through which it expresses and realizes its life and characteristic ideals. Now the point to be urged here is that a person can probably not become a loyal and efficient member of a particular church without an intelligent appreciation of the traditions, ideals, and usages of the particular church, any more than a man can become a loyal patriot unless he has some knowledge of the history and ideals of the nation of which he is a citizen. The neglect of this important truth doubtless accounts for the feeble attachment and the lack of loyalty which many persons feel toward the church to which they belong, and for the migratory church habit which is so unattractive a feature of much of our American religious life. May we not therefore raise the question whether denominational loyalty, inculcated through the study of denominational history, ideals, rites, and usages, is not a legitimate object of religious instruction? It goes without saying that such teaching should be carried on in a spirit of scholarship, and with a broad and sympathetic outlook over the entire field of religion, under whatever name, auspices, or outward form it may appear. It is important, especially in a time of transition like the present, that the child should be given the impression that the doctrines taught are but imperfect human interpretations, in the light of the knowledge of to-day, of an ever-growing truth, leaving open the possibility that other and varying interpretations are equally possible, and that the holding of religious beliefs other than those taught the child is therefore not culpable. Unless the child is prepared for this possibility, it is

likely to be mystified and confused by the multitude and variety of religious creeds and practices. In the second place, much may be done to avoid this result by emphasizing those elements in religious belief which are common to various religious bodies, rather than those on which they differ. Finally, it should be said that the best educational practice to-day would favor the teaching of religious doctrine as far as possible by the inductive method, that is, by providing the child with the data and experiences out of which he will gradually construct a religious view of the world through his own intellectual efforts, rather than learning a set of ready-made religious doctrines which are not based upon his individual experience and reflection. Religious ideas acquired through the self-activity of the child are likely to have a degree of strength and permanence never possessed by ideas and beliefs taught the child dogmatically, no matter how intrinsically reasonable or defensible.

Admission to full communion depends in many of the Protestant denominations upon the discretion of parents and clergymen, and is usually not preceded by any formal conditions other than some sort of confession of faith on the part of the young applicant for membership. It is to be feared that in too many cases such a form is not likely to be accompanied by any very thorough appreciation of its meaning, and will prove more or less perfunctory, unless it has been prepared for by some formal instruction, such as has been suggested above, and unless the rite of admission is accompanied by suitable ceremonies such as will convey to the youth an impression of the sacredness and importance of the new relations he is about to assume.

The practice of some of the older churches offers a valuable precedent for the preliminary steps to full admission. These include usually (1) some stated instruction upon special topics, other than those which may have been covered in previous religious instruction, such as special church doctrines, the meaning of the sacraments, the duties and privileges of church membership, and the like; (2) a formal examination, often public or semi-public, on these subjects of instruction; and, finally, (3) the ceremony of admission.

There is an important point on which we must touch briefly in conclusion. It was a deep thought of Aristotle that virtue is a habit, and that the habit of virtue, like other habits, is acquired through practice. "The virtues we get by first performing single acts, which again is the case of other things, as the arts, for instance. Men come to be builders, for instance, by building; harp-players, by playing on the harp: exactly so, by doing just actions, we come to be just: by doing the acts of self-mastery, we come to be perfected in self-mastery: and by doing brave actions, brave." The educational use which has been made of this suggestion in recent times through the introduction into education of expressional activities of all kinds has been vastly more extensive than Aristotle probably ever contemplated. "No impression without a corresponding expression," has latterly, indeed, become a sort of universal educational shibboleth. Professor James has given classical expression to this idea in his Talks to Teachers: "An impression which simply flows in at the pupil's eyes or ears, and in no way modifies his active life, is an impression gone to waste. It is physiologically incomplete. It leaves no fruits behind it in the way of capacity acquired. Even as mere impression, it fails to produce its proper effect upon the memory: for, to remain fully among the acquisitions of this latter faculty, it must be wrought into the whole cycle of our operations. Its motor consequences are what clinch it. Some effect due to it in the way of an activity must return to the mind in the form of the sensation of having acted, and connect itself with the impression. The most durable impressions are those on account of which we speak or act, or else are inwardly convulsed."

The use which the church can make of this important principle is obvious. The youth, on entering the church, must not be permitted to leave his religious impulses unemployed, and come to be, as so many church communicants do, merely a passive recipient of the church's ministries, but must be given an opportunity of expressing, through various forms of social service, the precepts, emotions, and impulses which are latent in his nature. "Man lives as long as he strives." In no precinct of life is this great word of Goethe more deeply true than in that called religious.

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E. C. Gibson

KEEPING GOD IN ETHICS

The greatest issue in the world to-day is whether morality is to be conceived of as having its foundation in the very heart of the universe and is consequently to conform to final standards, or whether it is temporal and utilitarian in its purpose. In earlier days, if I may use what seems to me a very useful parallel, it seemed very simple and clear that God was the Creator of the physical universe. Science began its investigations. Tracing out secondary causes and lining them up in an evolutionary chain it was very easy to lose sight of God. To reduce everything to a naturalistic plane and to deny God met the needs of the unbelieving disposition of many of the investigators. Others were confused by the very mass of the details of such an investigation, and as natural law and natural causation widened its sweep they gave up with reluctance their faith in the divine. It was a critical time: the spiritual conception of the world was in the balance. I need not dwell at length upon that struggle. It suffices to point out that faith won. A deeper study, a clearer insight gradually revealed to increasing numbers that the tracing of secondary causes never leads us to a final explanation. By themselves secondary causes are nothing. They themselves must be explained. It was seen that natural laws are but the ways in which the Creator works his wonders to perform. In short, the very study of secondary causation had brought God nearer, had revealed more clearly than ever that it is "his hand holds all nature up."

And now we are passing through another great critical time. Of deeper significance than wars, than industrial reconstructions, than any of the problems that press for consideration upon the surface of the world's life, is the situation brought about by the scientific studies in the realm of morals. Into this field, science, in harmony with its essential methods, has entered, taking nothing for granted. It has entered to trace and explain according to natural law the moral life of the race. All this is commendable, but just as was the case when science began to trace and explain the

physical world according to natural law, likewise here, so long as the work has not completed itself, just so long does it tend to obscure the conviction of the presence of God in the moral life. God seems to be thrust out and denied. Seeking a naturalistic explanation of morals and avoiding all reference to the supernatural as an explanation, scientific ethics inevitably confuses and despiritualizes all who fail to look deeper than the printed page.

The printed page, in such a treatment of the subject, declares that conscience has been evolved, or even derived (Drake, Problems of Conduct, p. 61), by a mechanical process of selection. It is the product of race experience. Morality, in the sense of conscious obedience to a sense of duty or to the moral law, is declared to be a late product. This sense of duty or of moral law is described as not merely affected in its development by natural environment factors, but as actually produced thereby (Drake, p. 19-11). Thus the "first postulate of a sane existence," namely, that the greater cannot be produced by the lesser, is dismissed, and as Alfred Noyes has recently put it: "We explain man by something less, and that again by something less, until we have whittled away all things visible or invisible. We have deliberately taught ourselves to look down into nothingness, though true science and true reason and every natural instinct of religion would teach us to look upward to the ever-expanding heavens and the infinite power of God." Instead of a "categorical imperative" or the whisperings of the Divine Spirit, which "lighteth every man coming into the world," what we have in conscience is merely one of several instruments for the attainment of an ulterior end, namely, happiness; and it is to be used or rejected according to its observed usefulness. The emphasized viewpoint heretofore was that morality was final and basal, and listening to its voice and obeying its mandates brought happiness; the viewpoint now is that happiness is the thing to be sought; we are to keep our eyes upon it as the highest consideration; it, and it alone, is to be the final criterion of conduct. Under such a treatment the whole fabric of morality loosens and threatens to actually dissolve; our moral codes become "scraps of paper," our moral standards become natural customs to be observed or thrust aside solely upon utilitarian grounds.

Moral standards thrust aside and moral considerations made secondary and utilitarian, the result was inevitable—a state dragged into the abyss by its utterly selfish and immoral policies. But it is not alone in Germany where this same tendency has been at work. The denial of ethical moral principles as ultimate standards and the centering of interest in happiness as the final goal in the attainment of which moral principles themselves are to be accepted or rejected, refashioned or created new according to the seeming necessities of the case—we see the awful harvest of this emphasis beginning to ripen in every field of human interest. One of the keenest observers of civilization in its larger movements declares: "On the surface, in the English-speaking countries, things are going on very much as usual; but under the surface there has been a change of tremendous and terrible import. The surface is only a very thin skin, and underneath there is a wild intellectual and moral chaos unprecedented in the history of the world, except perhaps in the moral chaos that preceded the fall of Rome." Alfred Noyes, poet and literary critic, writes: "It must not be supposed that the spirit of this evil, which we have called Bolshevism in Russia, is an isolated phenomenon. It is active everywhere. It has been active in art and literature for more than a quarter of a century, and it has gone far toward viciously perverting the whole reading public. In the art and literature of the day we can see for ourselves all those destructive forces actually at work attacking all the higher standards on behalf of a leagued mediocrity, and carrying the world with them on a wave of loose sexual suggestion. . . . The downfall of moral standards has led us to the brink of greater dangers than our practical men seemed to realize until they were confronted by this incomprehensible specter which they call Bolshevism. But our European art and literature —and latterly certain sections of American literature—have been increasingly Bolshevistic during the last thirty years. Vicious literature has been common in every age; but it has been reserved for our own to produce a literature that deliberately erases the 'not' from every law of God or man and proceeds to preach a creed of immorality as the gospel of the future. . . . The result is a wave of wickedness and corruption moving across the whole world.

"Author, essayist, atheist, novelist, realist, rhymester, play your part,
Paint the mortal shame of Nature with the living hues of Art.
Rip your brothers' vices open, strip your own foul passions bare;
Down with Reticence, down with Reverence—forward—naked—let them stare.

. . . . . .

Do your best to charm the worst, to lower the rising race of men;
Have we risen from out the beast, then back into the beast again?"

In the realm of amusements the influence of this naturalistic viewpoint in morals is clearly witnessed. From a too narrow view of play and of the social instincts taken by asceticism and extreme puritanism, there has been an inevitable reaction. The social nature of man, and the important function of play in the development of personality are receiving a larger and much needed recognition. But this reaction unfortunately has been caught upon the crest of the idea that the natural impulses are to be the determining voice in conduct with happiness ever in view as the goal, and has been swept by this tidal wave far beyond its proper limits. In the interest of an alleged harmony in life the moral question and questionings are to be stilled in the realm of amusement and natural inclinations, and impulses and desires and passions are to have their way. There follows, and is to follow, for we are just at the beginning of this unfortunate development, what threatens to be a veritable inundation of the sensual and the sensuous.

But from what direction is this threatened inundation? Whence comes this tide? Where are the sources of this flood? We are reminded that the tides have always pressed from that direction. True, but that does not explain the existing situation. Neither is explanation of the present situation found in an increased strength of those tides, but in a decreased defense against their inroads. Formerly they were held in check by a restraining conscience which was believed, in the essence of its message, to be authoritative; moral law raised itself as an embankment of defense and was believed to be a part of the very foundation of the universe, a veritable projection of the eternal Rock of Ages. But now science in tracing secondary causation has lost sight of the primary; observing that environment and custom affect conscience, scientific ethics has become engrossed with those matters and fails to hear

the voice of God. These extracts from the text Drake's Problems of Conduct are typical of the emphasis met with on every hand:

P. 150: "The teleology of conscience is very simple, and its genesis and development are purely natural." P. 61: "The inner voice of conscience has been derived or evolved by a mechanical process of selection." It is not the source and basis of the right, not something ultimate and unanalyzable, it is the mere instrument in the attainment of an ulterior end, to be used or rejected according to its observed usefulness. P. 161: "The Mosaic Code is held by Christians to be now abrogated; the recorded teachings of Christ are fragmentary and touch only a few fundamental matters." P. 277: "Almost any of the many motives to right conduct will reform a character if it be so stamped into the mind as to become the dominant idea. . . . The various religions have found and used them; modern psychology, analyzing their success, shows us clearly and exactly how to succeed, even if we stand aloof from religion altogether. . . . The great fact remains that habits can be made over, temptations rendered harmless, and character formed, by the simple means of suggestion." P. 74: Goodness and badness "is a matter of direct first-hand feeling, whose reality consists in its being felt. To say that these experiences are good or bad is equivalent to saying that they feel good or bad; there can be no dispute about it. . . . This is the bottom fact of ethics. Different experiences have different intrinsic worth as they pass. The good moments are their own excuse for being, a part of the brightness and worth of life. They need nothing ulterior to justify them. The bad moments feel bad, and that is the end of it; they are bad-feeling moments, and no sophistication can deny it. Certain of life's moments have a greater felt worth than others; some experiences are intrinsically undesirable, the shadow of life; others, intrinsically sweet, a part of its sunshine. A toothache is bad just as indisputably as the sky is blue. . . . In the last analysis, all differences in value, including all moral distinctions, rest upon this disparity in the immediate worth of conscious states."

These paragraphs make four contentions, and are typical of the current emphasis: first, moral consciousness is the product of a mechanical process of selection; second, it is not authoritative in

itself, neither does it find anywhere any final codes to rest upon; third, character building is a problem in mental suggestion, and may be thoroughly solved without religion entering into the account; fourth, good and bad are merely terms applied to describe good-feeling or bad-feeling moments.

We would not contend that these statements are wholly wrong —they are worse than that, they are most dangerous and specious half-truths. They grow out of the very commendable study of secondary causation in the field of ethics inspired by a most fruitful historical viewpoint. I am questioning neither the method nor the viewpoint; I believe they are both correct and that ultimately they will bring us clearer insight into the methods of the moral and spiritual life, and wonderfully practical direction as to how better to cooperate with God. What I am saying is that as yet they are lost amid the debris of their own working and are bringing upon us a time of great moral confusion. Ideas rule the world; the text books and the halls of learning have ever furnished the molds in which the life of the oncoming generation was to be fashioned. Certain ideas were promulgated in France in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, and in the fourth quarter of that century the French Revolution was the harvest; the idea that the life of the state should be considered entirely natural and should shake itself free from abstract moral codes and considerations was sown in Germany the last half of the nineteenth century, and the opening of the twentieth brought the world the inevitable vintage and the grapes of wrath. It shall be ever thus.

The moral life of the world is tremendously stirred and is tragically chaotic! The Christian vision was never more needed; the true, the Christian philosophy was never so necessary. Christian insight and Christian teaching with its sustaining conviction of the immanence of God, and with its uplifting consciousness of the divine purpose and power walking through the natural order, is the only hope of a distracted world.

Albert E. Kirk

"BIGNITARIES" ON VACATION

Little Seven-Year-Old was allowed to go alone into the gallery of her own church, when an Annual Conference was in session, across the street from her home. She wanted to see what such a Conference was like. But she soon tired of it, and came home with this report to her mother: "They talked about grown-up things that I couldn't understand, so I came out. The church was crowded, and a lot of Bignitaries sitting on the platform."

We Methodists are a companionable aggregation. This is not surprising since the Wesleys themselves started us off on the brotherhood path. Said they, in the "General Rules for the Church," issued in 1743: "It is expected of all who continue to evidence their desire in these societies that they shall continue to evidence their desire of salvation . . . by doing good, especially to them that are of the household of faith, or groaning to be; employing them preferably to all others; buying one of another, helping each other in business; and so much the more because the world will love its own and its own only." So began the chum spirit in Methodism.

Our church has grown some since 1743, and the world, it would seem, is looking upon us with a more tolerant eye. The necessity of helping each other in business "so much the more because the world will love its own and its own only" has passed. My friend the Methodist who owns a music business and gave a great many thousand dollars to the Centenary will not be deeply troubled if I do not buy my Victrola from him. And my friend the Methodist who owns a soap business seems to contribute with equal frequency to the cleanliness of Jew and Gentile, Romanist, "Scientist," and Protestant. The necessity for "standing together" has passed. The desire remains. So you will find a wonderful fellowship, a wonderful brotherly love among those who are of the household of faith, or "groaning to be." We yearn to be with each other. We are brazen preferment of each other's company. By the shores of a certain inland sea there is a summer colony which testifies to that fact. Year after year there are wont to gather

here a company of Methodists. The strenuosities of twentieth century life will not let them follow their clan instincts in the wintertime. Whether they will or no, circumstances beyond their power scatter them for nine months of the year from sea to sea and from gulf to lake divide. But the summer time is theirs to treat as they like, to live as they choose—and they choose to answer the clan call, and to herd with brother Methodists. To those of us who vacation there, a walk down the beach path of this summer colony is like a perusal of a General Conference directory or a "Who's Who in American Methodism." Leaving the hotel, where various and sundry editors and benevolent board members and such are wont to fly for a week-end of respite from their labors, you come to a bishop's cottage, nestling happily among the pines. And then you strike the abode of a college president, and then of another college president, and then of "one of our leading laymen—a minute man and all that." Still another college president dwells down on the beach, and next door are three lay delegates to General Conference all in a row. Back, up on the sanddunes which overlook the beach, are cliff-dwelling Book Committeemen and an editor or so, and any number of pastors and a sprinkling of district superintendents, and another bishop; while on the tip-top of the highest sand-dune, so perilously that it fairly sways in the wind that sweeps through the pines, clings the retreat of still a third bishop.

Verily, it is one glorious gathering of the clan. But not all the world regards it so. Our woods and our waters, our little stream that meanders back from the great lake into the serene farm country beyond, our Indian trails, our fishing spots, have won renown—so that many are eagerly seeking the place that Methodists found. And some of the newcomers are a bit grumbly. They feel we do not have the proper respect for their country club and their golf links, their afternoon teas, and their dinner parties. They think we are oldfogyish. And we will not dress up. I think that is the way these newcomers can spot us. I think it is the thing that hurts them most. We will not dress up. Just as likely as not, as a beautiful afternoon tea is adjourning in all its glory of taffetas and silks and parasols, we will come sauntering down the path in full sight of homeward-bound ladies of fashion.

We will come sauntering down the path clad in faded khaki, with a string of smelly fish hanging down our back. Or we will come dripping along in swimming suit and farmer's straw hat—minus its crown. It is all very upsetting to the ladies, who would fain give our resort a dressed-up and fashionable appearance. And it is all very bewildering to visitors. For how, when famous folk insist on dressing so, is one to tell a bishop when one sees him? Or to guess that that disreputable-looking female in a faded red sweater and short skirt, whom one has just snubbed, will turn out to be Dean of Women in a college?

Once upon a day a suitor came a courting to our cottage on the dunes. He came unexpectedly, as is the way of suitors, so that there was no one to meet him in the town down the way, where the train stopped. He got in early in the morning, long before our early breakfast time. So he walked the two miles to the summer colony out on the beach. It is a wonderful walk. And he was properly impressed. At breakfast that morning he was telling us all about it—about the early sun on the water, and the smell of the pines, and the loveliness of the sands. And he knew right then that he would be a favored suitor, for he was one of us in spirit. Suddenly in the midst of his poetic recital he stopped and laughed. "Coming up the beach," he said, "I met a fine old farmer. You should have seen him. He was wading along in the water with his trousers rolled up, and an old sweater on, and a flannel shirt. And he had a battered straw hat on without any crown, so that his red hair stuck out right through the top. And he smiled at me and said, 'Good morning, good morning! God's given us a glorious day, hasn't he?' Well, it fairly gave me a start. I haven't had a man speak to me so since I was a boy back on the farm." Then we all choked on our food with laughter, and rocked back and forth in our glee till the poor suitor was embarrassment itself. "Oh—a farmer!—a farmer!" we gasped. "It wasn't a farmer at all. It was our bishop, our great bishop, our famous bishop, our beloved bishop." The poor suitor was quite crestfallen for not having recognized the bishop. But he has plenty of company. It takes the initiated to understand the ways of these "Bignitaries" on vacation. And when they do understand them, how they love

them. I agree with Henry van Dyke. Do you remember how he said, in *Little Rivers:* "In Professor John Wilson's Essays Critical and Imaginative there is a brilliant description of a bishop fishing, which I am sure is drawn from the life: 'Thus a bishop, sans wig and petticoat, in a hairy cap, black jacket, corduroy breeches and leathern leggins, creel on back and rod in hand, sallying from his palace, impatient to reach a famous salmon cast ere the sun leave his cloud . . . appears not only a pillar of his church, but of his kind, and in such a costume is manifestly on the high road to Canterbury and the Kingdom come.' I have had the good luck to see quite a number of bishops, parochial and diocesan, in that style, and the vision has always dissolved my doubts in regard to the validity of their claim to the true apostolic succession"?

In a certain bungalow back from the beach, placed in the midst of a valley which the wind has scooped out by blowing through from the big lake to the river, there dwelt a preacher secretary who had need that John Wesley's injunction to "do good to the household of faith" might come true about him. For he had been sore wounded in the fray and had fallen by the way and wanted to be done good to. And he was. If any one wished testimony to the Methodist chum spirit he needed but to dwell awhile in that bungalow.

Dr. William V. Kelley has written a Salute to the Valiant. I wish he would write another—Salute to the *Friends* of the Valiant. For in no small measure it is these that help valiant sufferers to keep valiant. The bungalow became a sort of gathering ground for this clan of brotherly Methodists. Their feet wore a steadily deepening path up the valley, a path stopping at the invalid's chair on the porch. And Oh the tales they told and the offerings they brought! The auburn-haired bishop would come, clad sometimes in corduroy and the battered straw hat, sometimes in a dignified Prince Albert—with a red bandana tied around his neck. He would have tales to tell of the Conferences and the brethren, and the onward going of the work. And the invalid secretary's face would be a glory of light as he listened. Then the bright bishop would go on with a tale of the swim he had just

taken, down by the pier, where they had been wont to swim together in the old days. And the bishop next door would come, full of area plans and educational propaganda and such. And the editor would come, with a new book or a poem he had just learned. Once he came bringing the hollyhock seeds from the Alhambra, in Spain, to plant in the invalid-secretary's little garden. And the preachers would come, and the book committeemen—panting a little for the many steps because of the avoirdupois which book committeemen seem to take on. And once a boy, just turned twenty-two, whom the invalid-secretary had known since he was born, came, a little shyly but very proudly to introduce the girl of his heart and ask the minister to give them both his blessing. And the senior bishop would come in all his white-haired, beautiful dignity. He always had a great armful of books. It was down a half a hundred and up a half a hundred steps from the senior bishop's porch on top of the sand dune to the invalid-secretary's abode in the valley, but somehow the senior bishop found the breath to take it day after day. The senior bishop would always have a fishing tale, for he was a great fisherman, even as the secretary had been in the old days. "I was up the little lake yesterday," he would begin; "there in the reeds across from the bald dune, you know where. I hadn't a bite all day. But something inside me said 'There's a big bass in these weeds waiting for you; he's waiting for you!' And he was, for—zim! just as my bait hit the water he rose. And, oh, such a fight! I thought he was going to take line and the boat and me and the guide right along with him. But I played him and played him till he got tired out at last, and—here he is." And he would hold up the prize—a four-and-a-half-pound small-mouthed black bass—a beauty!

The children in the bungalow got downright jealous of these bishops and secretaries and editors after awhile. They pondered the matter seriously one morning, back in the kodak room, as they were cleaning a rod. "How can *we* do anything for father?" asked the boy, with a violent kick at a sweater lying by. "We never wrote a book to bring him, nor went to an Annual Conference—or to Spain, either. We're clean outclassed." The girl agreed. It was truly sad. And then they had a thought. The next after-

noon they went fishing, in the little river beyond the sand valley. There were seldom any fish in this river. Too many motor boats and such. But the boy and girl felt that there would be this day —the Lord would send it for the occasion; and he did. While the girl paddled the canoe down by the lily pads, the boy cast, and he hadn't cast twice before he got a strike, and a fish. Not a bass, it is true, but a pickerel—a big, beautiful pickerel. They landed the canoe back of the cottage, and the girl ran as hard as she could with the fish wriggling and wriggling on the end of the line. Oh, if he'd only keep alive till she got home! Running was hard through the sand, and the fish wriggled almost off the hook. But eventually she did get there. And she flopped the fish into the bath-tub as quick as a wink. He turned over on his back and the girl thought all was lost. He was dead. What a tragedy! But he wasn't dead. For soon he flopped over again and began swimming around the tub as alive as you make them. Then the girl ran shrieking joyfully and dancing up and down to the porch, and the mother wheeled the invalid's chair in beside the bath tub, and there was the great surprise—a real live fish brought home to swim around for the invalid-secretary.

All that was last year. The invalid-secretary has gone home to God. The bishops have packed away corduroy and fishing tackle and have betaken themselves to vestments, Annual Conferences and befitting dignity. The college presidents are marching about in academic gowns and looking as awe-inspiring as Thomas Jefferson himself. And the outdoor girls of sweaters and swimming suits have turned into deans of women and professors of sociology and such in universities and colleges. And the book committeemen and district superintendents are attending meetings and rising to points of order and scaring their parliamentary adversaries half to death. But they cannot scare me. For I have known them in their days-off, when they answered the call of the clan, and were just plain rusticating folks summering together.

Lamar Sheridan Warrick

SWEET SINGERS OF CANADA

It is a well-known fact that the mass of the early settlers in Kansas were New England emigrants. Discussing this a Boston man said to a Kansan, "The New England emigration saved Kansas." To which the Kansan replied, "It did something more important than that, it Americanized the Yankee." Both of these statements express a truth which can well be applied to the relations between Canada and the United States, and especially so with regard to their literatures. Greater knowledge on the part of both would result in that consummation long wished for—the North American idea; and some there are who, like Dr. J. A. MacDonald, of the Toronto Globe, are earnestly working toward this goal. But "has Canada a voice of her own in literature distinct from that of England?" questions Thomas Guthrie Marquis. "In poetry, at least," he adds, "the Canadian note is clear and distinct and of permanent value." It is that which we shall trace here.

One or two thoughts it is almost necessary to keep in mind in approaching the subject. First, Canadian literature is divided into two clearly marked divisions, the French and the English; for Canada is a bi-lingual country, its government documents being printed in both languages; and, in turn, these divisions are really offshoots of the old French and English literature of Europe. Canadian poets, one must note also, are poets of Nature to a degree not often excelled in other literatures. "Our Lady of the Snows," as Canada is called, has impressed her people with the moods of her wonderful landscapes. Besides being simply the expression of nature in Canada the best Canadian literature has often sprung out of significant events in the country's history. Indeed, in a word, Canadian literature is a distinctly national literature. Lastly, Canadian literature, rightly studied and considered, is divided into three periods up to the present time: first, the Provincial period, up to 1841, or, roughly, to 1850, when all the provinces were separate; second, the Union period, from 1850 to 1867; roughly, to 1880; third, the Dominion period, from

1880 to the present time. The first writers—those of the first period—were not native Canadians. There were about sixty writers in this period, and of these some forty poets. Of them it is interesting to learn that Nova Scotia, although most of the people of the province are ignorant of it, produced Oliver Goldsmith. He was not, of course, the great Oliver of Vicar of Wakefield and Deserted Village fame, but many Canadians and he himself claimed he was a descendant, and as if to prove his position he took for the theme of his chief work "The Rising Village." Of the second period there were one hundred and fifty poets and poetesses and one hundred prose writers. Many of them, however, have but a local significance. In the third period we find two hundred and twenty-five prose writers and two hundred poets, an indication that the Canadians are a literary people in spite of but one hundred and fifty years of an organized civil life; a distinction seldom equaled.

Little Canadian verse of real merit was produced until 1857, when "Saul," by Charles Heavysege, appeared, written with dignity and austerity. But it was in the decade 1880-1890 that the era of modern and artistic poetic literature of Canada really opened. Of this period Charles G. D. Roberts is the keynote. When some twenty years of age, before he became a college professor of literature, he wrote "Orion and Other Poems," followed six years later with "In Divers Tones," and in 1893 with "Songs of the Common Day." His "Ode for the Canadian Confederacy" in its first line sets the note of optimism which is running through Canadian Life:

> "Awake, my country, the hour of dreams is done!
> Doubt not, nor dread the greatness of thy fate."

As to Roberts's merits as a poet, he suggests, if at times a bit crudely, the classical tendency, as a devotee of Shelley and Tennyson. The deepest expression of his poetic passion and experience is his poetry of nature description. It shows a pure estheticism. This impressionistic nature poetry is the best part of his old Keatsian heritage, for one thing. And it is part, perhaps, of his best days also, the days which he described in "Tantramar Re-

visited," the long youthful days spent on the coast or among the farmers of New Brunswick, where he strove hardest to catch and to shape into some new line the vague evasive elemental beauty of nature. One of the finest of Roberts's poems is his "Aves," in celebration of the Centenary of Shelley:

"O heart of fire, that fire might not consume,
Forever glad the world because of thee;
Because of thee forever eyes illume
A more enchanted earth, a lovelier sea!
O poignant voice of the desire of life
Piercing our lethargy, because thy call
Aroused our spirits to a nobler strife
Where base and sordid fall,
Forever past the conflict and the pain;
More clear becomes the goal we shall attain!"

Another reminds one of Tennyson—it is called "Grey Rocks and Greyer Sea."

"Grey Rocks and greyer sea,
And surf along the shore—
And in my heart a name
My lips shall speak no more.

"The high and lonely hills
Endure the darkening year,
And in my heart endure
A memory and a tear.

"Across the tide a sail
That tosses and is gone,
And in my heart the kiss
That longing dreams upon.

"Grey rocks and greyer sea,
And surf along the shore—
And in my heart the face
That I shall see no more."

The most outstanding name among the poets of this period, in the opinion of the best critic, Professor L. E. Horning, of Victoria College, Toronto, is Wilfred Campbell. Campbell, poet of nature and of human interests, was born in Berlin, now Kitchener, Ontario, in 1861. After a distinguished university career he devoted himself to literature and later entered the Canadian civil service. He was latterly associated with the Dominion

Archives. His lyrics are very charming. One of them, a "Canadian Folk Song," has become most popular:

"The firelight dances upon the wall,
Footsteps are heard in the outer hall,
And a kiss and a welcome that fill the room;
And the kettle sings in the glimmer and gloom—
'Margery, Margery, make the tea,'
Singeth the kettle merrily."

Another delightful little poem, which is quite a favorite, is

"Morning her face is,
Blue seas her eyes,
All of earth's sweetness
In their light lies.

"Coral her lips are,
Red reefs of doom,
There do Love's ships drive
Down to their doom.

"There would I shipwreck,
Swooning to death,
Passing to darkness
On the winds of her breath."

But Campbell has had a great deal of the tragic in his life and this is reflected in his finest verse. His poetry not only reveals the deepest thought and feeling, but, as one of his admirers has said, "goes into the sacred and tragic places where the great dramatic moments of life are known." The exquisite poem, "The Bereavement of the Fields," is a tribute to Archibald Lampman, a fellow poet, and in technique and melody ranks high among the great elegies of the English tongue. The well-known poem "The Mother" has justly been praised as one of the first poems in all English. It is unfortunately too long for quotation. The theme is that of the soul of a mother returning from the grave for her child. One may, however, quote from "The Last Prayer":

"Master of life, the day is done,
My sun of life is sinking low,
I watch the hours slip one by one
And hark the nightwind and the snow.
. . . . . .

"Yea, Thou mayst quench the latest spark
Of life's weird day's expectancy,
Roll down the thunders of the dark
And close the light of life for me,

"Melt all the splendid blue above
And let these magic wonders die,
If thou wilt only leave me Love
And Love's heart-brother, Memory."

There is still a phase of Campbell's work that must not pass unnoticed. For he has caught the majesty and grandeur of nature in Canada, as can be seen in this one stanza from "Hills and the Sea":

"Give me the uplands of purple,
The sweep of the vast world's rim,
Where the sun dips down, or the dawnings
Over the earth's edge swim
With the days that are dead and the old earth-tales,
Human, and haunting, and grim."

And finally, as a Britisher, in this noble poem on "England," Campbell strikes the imperial note that Kipling used to strike:

"And if ever the smoke of an alien gun
Should threaten her iron repose,
Shoulder to shoulder against the world,
Face to face with her foes,
Scot, and Celt, and Saxon are one
Where the glory of England goes."

Mention was made of a poem of Campbell's on the death of Lampman. Of him and his writing William Dean Howells once said, "the stir of wing, of leaf, of foot, the drifting odors of wood and field" thrilled his readers. One stanza from his "Passing of Autumn" will bring this out:

"The wizard has woven his ancient scheme—
A day and a starlit night;
And the world is a shadow-penciled dream
Of color, and haze, and light."

Lampman was a master of the Sonnet, and in this form he seems to reach his highest expression. I quote "In a Railway Station" as an example of his best work:

"The darkness brings no quiet here, the light
No waking; ever on my blinded brain
The flare of lights, the rush, the cry and strain,
The engines' scream, the hiss and thunder smite:
I see the hurrying crowds, the clasp, the flight.
Faces that touch, eyes that are dim with pain;
I see the hoarse wheels turn, and the great train
Move, laboring, out into the bourneless night.
So many souls within its deep recesses,
So many bright, so many mournful eyes,
Mine eyes that watch grow fixed with dreams and guesses:
What threads of life, what hidden histories,
What sweet or passionate dreams and dark distresses,
What unknown thoughts, what various agonies!"

A Canadian who is better known to American readers than most others is Bliss Carman, who lives in New York and has been a member of most of the literary societies there for years. He hails from the Maritime Provinces, and spent his boyhood on the banks of the St. John River in New Brunswick and in the Evangeline country of Nova Scotia. This appears in his poetry, which has been made the subject of special study by Dr. Lee, of the Université de Rennes in France, in his "Bliss Carman: A Study in Canadian Poetry." Dr. Lee says he has "the rare, the vital, individuality of genius." Continuing, Dr. Lee declares that Carman's philosophy has probably been influenced more by that of Browning than any other, and he sums up this philosophy in these three principles: "Love is the Lord of Life, the revealer of the purpose of creation. This divine energy can only be transmitted to the soul through the media of the senses in proportion as the senses are perfect. The ideals awakened in the soul by love can only be adequately realized with the help of reason." Let us see the poet in his work, and, first, "The Dance of the Sunbeams":

"When morning is high o'er the hilltops,
On river and stream and lake,
Whenever a young breeze whispers
The sun-clad dancers wake.

"One after one upspringing,
They flash from their dim retreat,
Merry as running laughter
Is the noise of their twinkling feet.

. . . . . .

"Until at the grey day's ending,
As the squadrons of cloud retire,
They pass in the triumph of sunset
With banners of crimson fire."

In different mood is the poet in his "Low Tide at Grand Pre." When this first appeared in The Atlantic Monthly all felt the magical touch. Over all the barren reaches on which the sun had gone down the poet saw the "unelusive glories." The poem is faintly reminiscent of Swinburne's "Félise," and the last stanza reads like a refrain of music:

"The night has fallen and the tide . . .
Now and again comes drifting home,
Across these aching barrens wide,
A sigh like driven wind or foam;
In grief the flood is bursting home!"

More serene is his "A Mountain Gateway," which begins:

"I know a vale where I would go some day
When June comes back and all the world once more
Is glad with summer. Deep with shade it lies,
A mighty cleft in the green bosoming hills,
A cool dim gateway to the mountains' heart."

Curious it is that the greatest portrayer of French Canadian life in its own dialect is a Scotchman, Dr. William Henry Drummond. And yet it is not strange, for Drummond was a country doctor for many years, living near the hearts of the "habitants." And so it is that the "habitant" on his little farm, the *voyageur* on the wild river ways and the *coureurs de bois* are all immortalized in songs that for humor and pathos and picturesqueness would be hard to excel. They are inherently native to the only section of Canada that can be called "quaint." Many of Drummond's sketches are favorites with readers. Here are two selections. The first is called "De Nice Leetle Canadienne":

"You can pass on de worl' wherever you lak'—
Tak' de steamboat for go Angleterre,
Tak' car on the State, an' den you come back,
An' go all de place, I don' care—

Ma Frien', dat's a fack, I know you will say,
W'en you come on dis contree again,
Dere's no girl can touch, w'at we see ev'ry day,
De Nice Leetle Canadienne.

. . . . . .

"O she's quick an' she's smart, an' got plaintee heart,
If you know correc' way go about;
An' if you don' know, she soon toll you so,
Den tak' de firs' chance an' get out;
But if she love you, I spik it for true,
She will mak' it more beautiful den,
And sun on de sky can't shine lak' de eye
Of dat Nice Leetle Canadienne."

A greater favorite perhaps is "Leetle Bateese," in which are mingled humor and tenderness in a delightful way:

"Too sleepy for sayin' de prayer to-night?
Never min', I s'pose it'll be all right.
Say dem to-morrow—ah, dere he go!
Fas' asleep in a minute or so—
An' he'll stay lak' dat till de rooster crow,
Leetle Bateese!

. . . . . .

"But, Leetle Bateese! Please don' forget
We rader you're stayin' de small boy yet;
So chase de chicken an' make dem scare,
An' do w'at you lak' with your old gran'père,
For w'en you're beeg feller, he won't be dere,
Leetle Bateese!"

Though it is not possible to quote from the work of Louis Frechette, the Canadian poet laureate, because his poems are so long and closely woven, I mention him as a poet of very high order. He was crowned by the French Academy for his tragedy, "Papineau."

There is another race in Canada which has also its articulate voice in poetry. The red man has a representative poet in Pauline Johnson, the daughter of one of the last of the Indian chiefs of the Six Nations. Her best known poems, "How Red Men Can Die," "The Cry of an Indian Wife," and "The Song My Paddle Sings," brought her fame, and for years she was a very popular lecturer in Canada, the United States, and England. Theodore

Watts-Dunton, who followed her career with keen interest, says: "Success had no damaging effect on her grand simplicity of character. Of all Canadian poets she is most distinctly of the soil, as she inherited the blood of the great primeval race now so rapidly vanishing and of the greater race that has supplanted it."

"The Song My Paddle Sings."

"West wind, blow from your prairie nest,
Blow from the mountains, blow from the West.
The sail is idle, the sailor too:
O wind of the west, we wait for you!
Blow, blow.
I have wooed you so,
But never a favor you bestow.
You rock your cradle the hills between
But scorn to notice my white latteen.

. . . . . .

We've raced the rapid, we're far ahead,
The river slips through its silent bed,
Sway, sway,
As the bubbles spray
And fall in twinkling tunes away,
And up in the hills against the sky
A fir tree rocking its lullaby
Swings, swings
Its emerald wings,
Swelling the song that my paddle sings."

Two more poets are all that there is space for, but each of them has special interest. Robert Service has made the name of the Dominion known very widely since he published his Songs of a Sourdough in 1907, the Ballads of a Chickakoo in 1910, and Rhymes of a Rolling Stone in 1912. These have brought him the title "the Kipling of the Arctic World." He is the poet of the scenic grandeur and the primitive life of the great northland. Yet he is not typically Canadian; but rather pictures a phase of Canadian life. The rhythm of his poems has an irresistible sweep; no training in the technique of versification is necessary to catch the movement, it carries one along; and the plain forcible language grips the attention and holds it while short, vivid, insistent epithets hammer themselves deeply into one's mind. The style by which Service is best known is this:

"The Law of the Yukon."

"This is the law of the Yukon, that only the Strong
shall thrive;
That surely the Weak shall perish and only the Fit
survive;
Dissolute, damned and despairful, crippled, and palsied
and slain,
This is the will of the Yukon—Lo, how she makes it
plain!"

But I should like to give two brief selections which show him in very different mood. The first is "My Madonna." The artist had hailed him a "Woman from the Street" for his model and he painted her:

"I painted her as she might have been
If the worst had been the best,"

and she laughed at the picture and went away. But a connoisseur came and exclaimed, "'Tis Mary the Mother of God,"

"So I painted a halo round her hair
And I sold her and took my fee.
And she hangs in the Church of Saint Hilaire
Where you and all may see."

The other poem is called "Unforgotten," and in it Service dramatizes the way in which one's real life lies in his consciousness rather than enchained with the bodily presence:

"I know a garden where the lilies gleam
And one who lingers in the sunshine there;
She is than white-stoled lily far more fair,
And oh, her eyes are heaven-lit with dream.

"I know a garret cold and dark and drear,
And one who toils and toils with tireless pen
Until his brave sad eyes grow weary—then
He seeks the stars, pale, silent as a seer.

"And ah, it's strange, for desolate and dim
Between these two there rolls an ocean wide;
Yet he is in the garden by her side
And she is in the garret there with him."

The last poet we consider here is Miss L. M. Montgomery,

whom one could never leave out, for her fame is secure as the creator of Anne of Green Gables. This was published in 1908 and brought a letter from Mark Twain in which he said that Anne is "the sweetest creation of child life yet written." Knowing the novelist one is not surprised at her being a poet. One with her joyous outlook in life, vivid imagination, instinct for words and facility of expression could not help being a poet. More than that, she has lived nearly all her life in Prince Edward Island, where the fairies are said to live. In truth Miss Montgomery, or Mrs. MacDonald as she is now, was a poet long before she began to write prose. Indeed it is doubtful if she has ever been anything else, for Anne Shirley is essentially a creature of sentiment and imagination and of those qualities of heart and brain which are the product of the poetic mind. Her verse is quite as perfect as her prose, and her lyrics, especially those dealing with the smiling aspects of her native forest, its fragrant fields of red earth and the "blue sea coming up on every side," are of rare quality, delicate, lilting, and full of music. In this first selection one can picture Anne Shirley in her later years speaking:

"The Old Home Calls."

"Come back to me, little dancing feet that roam the wide
world o'er,
I long for the lilt of your flying steps in my silent rooms
once more;
Come back to me, little voices gay with laughter and
with song,
Come back, little hearts beating high with hopes, I have
mourned you long."

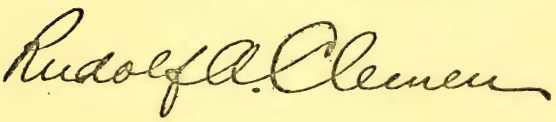
We have considered some of the sweet singers of Canada who each in his or her own way expressed the national life in its various phases. One poet writes of his native place, another of the people he has come to love, but some few singers express in simple notes the hopes and fears and life of all Canadian folk. For Canadian life has in it a breath of fresh air which requires such simple notes. Most Canadians live on the farm land or on the sea. They like to say that Canada is the land of the Twentieth Century in the sense of a vast industrial state, but as yet it is so only as a

land of promise. It is the last great West, where the people live close to nature. It is this people that Miss L. M. Montgomery has pictured in "When the Dark Comes Down":

"When the dark comes down, oh, the wind is on the sea
With lisping laugh and whisper to the red reef's threnody.
The boats are sailing homeward now across the harbor bar,
With many a jest and many a shout, from fishing grounds afar;
So furl your sails and take your rest,
Ye fisher folk so brown,
For task and quest are ended when the dark comes down.

"When the dark comes down, the landward valleys fill
Like brimming cups of purple and on every landmark hill
There shines a star of twilight that is watching evermore
The low dim-lighted meadows by the long dim-lighted shore,
For there, where fragrant daisies weave the grass a silver crown,
The lads and lassies wander when the dark comes down.

"When the dark comes down, oh, the children fall asleep
And mothers in the fisher huts their happy vigils keep,
There's music in the song they sing and music on the sea,
The loving, lingering echoes of the twilight litany.
For toil has folded hands to dream and care has ceased to frown,
And everyone's a lyric when the dark comes down."



OFFICE OR STUDY?

"The ancient church was imperiled by the serving of tables. The leaders had to be called away to the task of witnessing, for that was of more importance. The modern church is facing another peril. It has multiplied among its possessions the office desk. Many have accepted the desk for the pulpit. They read the card index more than their Bible. They dictate to a stenographer instead of pouring out their souls in a Christian message. They think in terms of the office instead of the pastor's study. They substitute the swivel chair for the place of prayer. They charge themselves with the responsibility of promotion rather than of prophecy. Strange, but it is true, we have come to 'the age of the desk.' We have as many of them as pulpits in the land. Many of those whom God called to preach his Word in their youth are serving desks. Whence cometh this Word? Let him answer who reads and feels and sees and understands. Let him who considers the bearing of witness for the living Christ in the heart of man speak out the word of truth boldly."

The above was found in a recent issue of one of our Advocates. One may think there is cause for the fear such words express. One may think otherwise. "The modern church . . . has multiplied among its possessions the office desk." Had such multiplication been undertaken ten years ago the disturbing subtraction of the last half decade would have been far less; and one may believe the totals of this year would have shown the arithmetic to have been a process of world-wide addition despite the war.

"Many have accepted the desk for the pulpit." To decry such change of activity on the part of ministers as a retreat from a previous line of battle, or a descent from a former plane of consecration, is to engage, first of all, in an unkind and unmerited criticism; second, such argument, if it is sound, knocks the foundation from under the present movement for Christian Life Enlistments among our young people.

What urgency there is to lead our young folks to the place where they will hear the calling voice of God, but what care is to be

exercised that those who hear God calling them shall not be allowed to hear what God is calling them for, in definite terms, until our best Methodist human wisdom has passed on their probable abilities and qualifications. In this day of world need, demanding intensive organization and careful supervision of the forces, let us thank God we have ministers of Jesus Christ to place at the desks even though some of them never again follow preaching as their chief vocation. Until such time as the church was ready God has used them in the pulpit and parish. Because they may have been successful pastors and preachers proves nothing as to their acceptance with God in their present capacities.

"They read the card index more than the Bible. They dictate to a stenographer instead of pouring out their souls in a Christian message." What if they do? Bible reading for private devotions need not be so long as is necessary for him who must preach two or more times a week.

"They think in terms of the office instead of the pastor's study." This is the line that suggests our title. Not only must those who have left pastorates occupy offices. The hour has long since struck when those who remain in pastorates should occupy offices. Those charged with "the responsibility of promotion," and those who have the responsibility of "prophecy," are both false to their trust unless they think in terms of human life and eternal destiny, whether their work centers in a so-called office or a so-called study.

One more comment on our Advocate clipping. "They substitute the swivel chair for the place of prayer." Perhaps this is not to be understood literally. Not the presence of office desks in our great church but their continued absence would constitute our twentieth century peril. The study, it is true, suggests reading, meditation, prayer, and sermon production. The office as surely suggests the desk and swivel chair, the typewriter if not the stenographer, the telephone, and surely the card index. In other words the office suggests business system in carrying on the biggest business in the world. To argue that prayer, meditation, and study are not possible nor probable in the office is to nullify our plea to the business layman that he be one hundred per cent Christian Steward.

There are evident advantages in the office to one who would be diligent in the Lord's work. Very seldom is the rocker found where the swivel chair is, while many a study gives first place to the easy-chair or couch. Neither does the office desk invite to itself all the miscellaneous reading of the household, profitable and profitless; but who ever saw a study table without a load of such?

And the card index. This surely is a part of the modern desk or of the filing cabinet. Blessings be upon the card index. What could the pastor do without it in this day? Membership rolls, constituency rolls, official rolls, Advocate prospect rolls, Centenary subscriptions, building committee lists, etc., etc. Without office system and equipment—chaos. And chaos is still the rule in a thousand studies. Inquire of the brethren engaged in promotion whose letters are not answered. They cannot be by the pastor whose work centers in the average study.

The writer has in different States at times accepted some measure of responsibility for county- or district-wide promotional activity, notwithstanding heavy prophetic and pastoral duties. He has also observed district-wide executive efforts of the good wife. In all cases these were church-approved forms of propaganda requiring for success active cooperation of the pastors. Almost without exception the amount of cooperation and consequent success was in exact ratio to the degree in which the study had become an office.

Pastors do not fail to give requested information, to make reports, to send certificates of transfer, because they do not want to comply. At the time the letter is received the brother is just going to a funeral service, or the information must be sought of a second person, or various records must be consulted which are misplaced or lost under an accumulation of papers. He has no filing system, for he has no office, and the letter is laid aside with others. It lies there until the man to whom it is addressed forgets what it asked for, or if he remembers is ashamed to mail it so long after the request was received.

Some fear that to depart from the traditional study will in some unexplained way hamper the cultivation of the thoughtful, devotional life. There seems to be a halo that means privacy and

quiet about the word study that is not thought of when one speaks of the office. The fear is groundless. If ever an office justified the door plate PRIVATE the church or parish office does. But early morning privacy would not be lost if it was a removable plate and at nine thirty was changed to one reading COME IN.

If our religion is to have an ethical basis one might urge honesty as one essential of the prayerful Spirit-filled life. And here the card index would be a great help. For instance it is a joy to keep a card index membership roll constantly accurate. It is a trial, a sore burden, a perplexity, to keep such roll accurate in the old form Book Concern volume after it has suffered two or three revisions, said volume never having been designed for periodic revisions. The record having become a hopeless jumble it is difficult not to yield to temptation and continue reporting as members those who are no longer such. Conscience may be easy, but honesty is not enthroned. Would that the district superintendents might tell us on how many charges, where the study is not an office, does the Quarterly Conference ever receive a full report from the committees on auditing and records.

The plea of to-day is for zeal. The emphasis is for zeal with knowledge. It is the day of the survey because it is the day of progress in making Christ King. The pastor should know his field. The following are some of the features that evidently would score in any efficiency chart devised for the Methodist Episcopal Church: A working unit system; a religious census with monthly corrections by aid of the unit leaders (such census would provide an up-to-the-minute constituency roll with a heart-compelling prayer list); parish-wide Sunday-school constituency roll; correct membership roll; regular distribution of literature to selected list, designed to educate and inspire the people; annual every-member canvass for current budget with a careful follow-up for both this and the Centenary subscriptions. These things our church leaders and church press are wisely insisting on. In all but the larger churches this wide circle of efficiency will break in a score of places unless it centers in the pastor. Hence the pastor who would effectively cooperate with the leaders of the denomination must be an office man.

No one thinks for a moment he will be less a man of prayer because office furniture and office system supersede study furniture and study confusion. A pastor who spends the afternoons among the people sick in body, or soul, or both, and the mornings in his office, where at his finger tips are complete data on the social, physical, religious, economic, and cultural status of the folks of his parish, is going to be a man who prays much. He can do no other.

The issue is clear. One may continue the study, doing well the pastoral and pulpit work. If one is to be pastor, preacher, director of a real program of religious education, organizer, executive, a center of the circle of modern parish activities, he must discontinue the study in favor of the office.

One other phase of this matter is important. We talk about a longer pastorate, we still move frequently. Because we move and because we use studies instead of offices the Methodist Episcopal Church in this country loses the equivalent of the time of one man for a century every twelve months. No minister will ever have courage or grace to compile for his successor the information he should leave him unless he himself has made such information a matter of constant record during his term of service for his own use.

Of course all recognize the danger of too many boards and bureaus. Many men would prefer a nine-hour day at a desk in the Lord's work, with a living salary sure to be paid at the end of the month, to a fourteen-hour day on a charge, with less than a living salary and even that uncertain. However, if the local church had a business leadership, the Methodists would be so numerous and mighty a people we would need more executives in the denomination than we now have. If there seem to be too many swivel chairs occupied by former pastors the reason in part is that too few are occupied by present pastors.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

THE RESIGNATION OF DR. KELLEY

THE Reverend Doctor William Valentine Kelley, for twenty-seven years the honored editor of the METHODIST REVIEW, presented to the General Conference at Des Moines, Iowa, his resignation, in the following letter, which was read and received with profound interest and respect by that body May 21, 1920, and made a part of its record:

CLIFTON SPRINGS SANITARIUM, N. Y.
May 15, 1920.

To the General Conference at Des Moines:

DEAR AND HONORED FATHERS AND BRETHREN:

Eight years ago, at Minneapolis, Dr. Buckley, partly on my advice, requested, after thirty-two years of editorial labor, to be relieved of that responsibility.

Acting now on the advice I then gave him, I send to you the same request for myself. Were I physically able, I would willingly show my respect for our great church by presenting this request in person. For many reasons I long to be with you in Des Moines; for four reasons especially:

First. For the privilege, hitherto long enjoyed, of looking upon so imposing and potent a body and listening to its deliberations and deliverances on subjects so pregnant with vast and vital issues of world-wide and age-long importance that only the divine head of the church can foresee the far-reaching results of your action here taken.

Second. I long to be with you for the unspeakable joy of meeting once more, face to face, many honored, beloved, and long-cherished friends who have trusted me more than I have ever dared to trust myself, and whose friendship is my dearest earthly treasure.

Third. I would fain express to the world-wide Methodism I have tried to serve, now assembled representatively in Des Moines, my grateful appreciation of the confidence reposed in me by the church in intrusting to me for so long a time so great an interest and agency

as the REVIEW, through which I have been permitted to be a helper and servant to the many thousands of working pastors and preachers. And I would give public thanks to the Giver and Preserver of life for preserving me to serve for so many years.

Fourth. But chiefly do I wish I might stand before you in order to magnify and plead for your own great old REVIEW, because, strange as it seems, there are Methodists who do not know what the METHODIST REVIEW is and has been for a hundred years.

1. Some Methodists do not know what a rich possession to our church the more than one hundred large octavo volumes of the REVIEW are; what a library of vast and varied value. These volumes, bound in cloth or leather, standing in long array on the library shelves of our own and other colleges and seminaries, and in not a few private libraries, are a storehouse of knowledge and wisdom, containing the rich deposit of a century's thinking and authorship; an index and reflection of the mind of Methodism, a record of its development and progress, as well as a portrait gallery and biographical cyclopedia of its leaders from the beginning until now.

2. Some Methodists are utterly ignorant of the eminently honorable rank held by our REVIEW through a century, as a high-grade literary, philosophical, theological, historical, and scientific magazine. Take three confirming illustrations of its rank and influence:

A. A fair sample of its alertness and competent ability in the world of literature is the fact that in 1846, over seventy years ago, the METHODIST REVIEW was the first periodical in this country to introduce to the American public by a full and adequate exposition, interpretation, and critical estimate the poetry of Miss Elizabeth Barrett—those unique poems of the heart which drew the attention of young Robert Browning to his future wife. Such service in the realm of literature your REVIEW was rendering seventy years ago, and has continued through ten decades. Its literary rank is no less to-day. Its quality is such that noted professors of English literature in large universities, not all of them Methodist, find it worth while to subscribe for their own private copies which lie on the tables in the college reading rooms.

B. The reputation and ability of your REVIEW in the realm of philosophy is fairly indicated by the fact that the Emperor Napoleon III, ruler of France for twenty years, knew of the METHODIST REVIEW. Having been all his life a student of philosophy, he was much interested in August Comte's Positive Philosophy as soon as its publi-

cation was completed. He read some discussions and criticisms of that philosophy which were published in the METHODIST REVIEW, and pronounced them the ablest he had seen anywhere. This we have on the authority of Dr. John McClintock, eight years editor of the REVIEW. A review which was read by the Emperor of the French and which had as a frequent contributor Professor Borden P. Bowne, foremost American philosopher of his time, must have ranked high in philosophy. Almost in his youth Bowne dealt Herbert Spencer's philosophy one of the most masterly and deadly blows it ever received.

C. The reputation of your REVIEW in the realm of theology is indicated by the fact that when Gladstone retired from his fourth term as prime minister to the seclusion of his loved library of Hawarden, to complete some unfinished studies in theology, he included the METHODIST REVIEW among sources of information and opinion important to be consulted in his studies. And twenty-five years ago, in the early part of my editorship, I collected and forwarded to Mr. Gladstone, at his request, a bundle of the back numbers of the REVIEW containing articles on the subjects he was investigating. A review which the great English prime minister desired, and which had as its editor for many years Daniel D. Whedon, that victorious champion of Arminianism, the faith delivered to our Methodist fathers—such a review could not help having high repute in theology.

But above all, the crowning glory and wonder of your REVIEW is that it has borne such reputation and maintained this rank and record for over one hundred years—a truly monumental success. Note that this is an unparalleled achievement. Among religious bodies your church alone has accomplished anything like it. Other denominations have tried many times to sustain a review, but not one of them has succeeded. And of all the numberless secular reviews and magazines ever published in this country, only one has survived a century. That one is the North American Review. Methodism wears this distinction on its breast as a trophy won by sustained cerebration—evidence of superior intellectual energy, enterprise, and ambition, a public service medal.

This REVIEW of yours has world-wide circulation through a world-wide church. Literally, "its line is gone out through all the earth and its words to the end of the world."

Clothed with the dignity of its hundred years, it goes to carry intellectual and spiritual food and culture to our ministers and missionaries beyond the seven seas; across the Rhine, the Danube, the Nile,

and the Ganges; over Alps, Andes, Himalayas, and Mountains of the Moon; it is carried up the Yangtse, and the Congo, and the Amazon; and to the islands of many seas.

Bear with me, brethren, if I deem it not undesirable that for once a Methodist General Conference, however busy, should listen to a glorification of the METHODIST REVIEW. I count it not unseemly in a retiring editor, after living twenty-seven years with and for that REVIEW, to tell you the whole truth about it. Let me beseech you to magnify the REVIEW. Some there are who would belittle your great REVIEW by merging it with the book editorship or something else. I beg you not to permit that. It needs the whole time and strength of a whole man, and the very best you can find as editor.

Praying earnestly that no General Conference may ever lay diminishing and desecrating hands upon the METHODIST REVIEW, I remain,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM V. KELLEY.

At the conclusion of the reading of this letter, the Conference directed the following to be sent to Dr. Kelley:

The Rev. William Valentine Kelley, D.D., LL.D., L.H.D., New York.
BROTHER BELOVED:

Why should we stand upon ceremony, we and you—we, who have known you for many quadrenniums, and who began to love you from the moment when you first revealed the gift of your mind and the graces of your heart! You, who from your parsonage boyhood, through your student days at Pennington and Wesleyan, through a quarter century of pastorates, and now for twenty-seven years in the conduct of our historic magazine, have ever stood for those things which we regard as Methodism at its best!

Through your life and labor and in your writings you have furnished us with the precept and example which we rough-spoken and hard-hitting Methodists are supposed to need in order to give refinement and polish to the expression of that abounding energy which led another to describe the Wesleyan movement as "Christianity in earnest"! We know from what you say and from what you are that the humanities and spiritualities may come to perfection in one individual. And you have demonstrated that a church of the plain people is capable of producing a REVIEW which compares with any publication in the land.

It has been your fortune, revered friend—probably it would be nearer the truth to say that it has been your successful design—to maintain the inspiring touch of personal friendship with many younger men, ministers and laymen, in whose mental and spiritual growth you have taken a father's loving interest. Those who are proud to be reckoned as "your boys," in the mission fields and in every field of Christian activity, not excepting secular business, are carrying your influence to an ever-widening circle, and in unnoticed ways establishing the tradition of the great editor who was, first of all, a big brother in Christ to all those who were of kindred mind.

The General Conference, by formal resolution, on May 10, authorized us to send this letter of affectionate greeting, and to sign it with our own names. We take pleasure and pride in fulfilling the commission. The line of signatories would be longer than the letter if all might affix their names who will countersign it with their hearts when they read what we four have been permitted to say.

Your family name, on the spindle side, is Valentine, and you came into the world on St. Valentine's Eve, one of the few Saints' days in the Methodist Calendar. For the one reason or the other they christened you Valentine, and it was no misnomer. For you have been a messenger of affection wherever your sympathy has reached by heart throb, or handclasp, or by the spoken or written word. And we in turn send you this true love letter, given at the hall of the General Conference in Des Moines, Iowa, this seventeenth day of May, when the trees, just coming into leaf and bloom, remind us of the perennial springtime that is in your soul.

A small delegation of "your boys":

Ministerial—	Lay—
Francis J. McConnell.	A. W. Harris.
David G. Downey.	James R. Joy.

AN EDITORIAL SALUTATION

After reading and thoughtfully considering the able *apologia* of the Methodist Review, which the retiring editor included in his letter of resignation to the General Conference, the editor-elect asked himself this question: In what temper of soul shall I take up such a task, committed to me by the chief council of the Church?

Thomas Gray, one of the supreme English masters of the com-

pelling and inevitable line, has divined and described such a mingled mood in that well-known passage in his "Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College," wherein are pictured in perfect phrase the feelings of truant boys as they venture into unknown fields beyond the old school bounds:

> "Still, as they run, they look behind,
> They hear a voice in every wind
> And snatch a fearful joy."

Now the poet meant more by that than merely a fit of school-boy psychology. It is a permanent picture of the complex emotions, mingled of dread and delight, with which any sensitive soul must face an untried experience of life. How did Columbus feel when, in answer to his faith and courage, God gave him his first vision of the new world rising westward out of the sea of darkness? In every dazzling dawn of new discovery and opportunity the clouds that are gilded with glory are also full of the threat of danger and difficulty, sleeping in their heart of thunder. Promise and peril both stand as guardians at the gateway of every new adventure.

As I "look behind" and read the noble list of names of those preceding me in this high office, there comes a sudden sense of awe touched with reverence, for the Editor of the METHODIST REVIEW enters a real apostolical succession which even the episcopacy can hardly rival. Bangs, Peck, McClintock, Whedon, Curry, Mendenhall, Kelley—what a magnificent muster-roll of Methodist manhood and scholarship! How shall I sufficiently strip myself of modesty to dare put on the mantle of the mighty McClintock? or how, without a humbling sense of unworthiness, sit in the iron-framed and leather-cushioned arm chair of Whedon, which faces me as I write? Yet this cloud of awe is shot through and through with thrilling rays of exultant gladness as I enter such a rich heritage of sacred achievement and service. This office is a "sanctum" indeed, not in the cheap sense of the newspaper phrase, but a real sanctuary, filled with the incense left by noble sacrificial lives, where one can still faintly feel the holy hands of these glorified workers for God laid upon one's head in perpetual benediction.

But the fear comes back with fresh force as I recall the brilliant record of the last twenty-seven years made by my immediate predecessor, William Valentine Kelley. No man in the service of the church has more perfectly joined spiritual vision, intellectual dignity,

artistic sensibility, literary finish of style and brotherly sympathy. To don the robe of such a giant is a deed of daring. Yet it is a high honor to succeed such a man, and it is the greater gladness that he still lives to furnish most gracious fellowship of sympathy and support to the present editor. The pages of the REVIEW will always welcome the product of his facile pen. Long may he rest in that Beulah land of the soul where he has dwelt so long—the land where he can continue to bless the world with his influence, while already breathing the air of Paradise.

The sweet terror of this backward glance is fully equaled by the "fearful joy" of the forward look. The editorship of the METHODIST REVIEW is an office which combines grave responsibility with high opportunity. A duty of much difficulty and delicacy, it comes to me with the challenge of a glorious chance. Never was this more searchingly true than at the present moment. The world has entered a New Day. The Great War is over as a military fact, but a more deadly conflict is raging in the realm of the human spirit. We live in a shattered world where those twin dragons of the deep, Reaction and Revolution, wrestle in a chaos as confused as the welter of the first creation. Again we invoke the brooding spirit to move on the face of the waters and bring to us the beauty of a "new heaven and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness." Doubt and darkness await again the creation word, "Let there be light."

"Who is sufficient for these things?" No former age has more strenuously summoned the leaders of public opinion in the pulpit and press to face the future with holy daring and reverent humility. The demands of such a time as this cannot be met by repetition of the pious platitudes of the past. Old formularies of ecclesiastical, social and political philosophy furnish no fitting solution for the problems of the present. No voice can be uplifted to-day without humble hesitancy in the search for a fitting answer to the questions of the hour, nor without a thrilling sense of the joy of battle in such a strife. It was said of the period of the French Revolution:

> "'Twas bliss in that great day to be alive,
> But to be young was heaven."

I enter the lists of this tournament of thought and action with trembling fear as I measure my fitness against these portentous facts, but I also do so with a heart thrilled with the promise of holy adven-

ture as my hand timidly reaches out to grasp and wield the sword of God in the new crusade.

A Review, as Dr. Kelley has so ably contended in his valedictory, occupies a unique place in periodical literature. The daily and weekly press give a *view* of passing events, a view which if accurate is indispensable in furnishing the material for thought and the basis for action. But a *review* is more than a view; it gives further if not final reactions of brain and heart upon the facts of life. Philosophy comes after events, and strives to interpret the current discoveries in Nature, the happenings of history and the experiences of life in terms of thought and duty. For science, art, literature, current events,—all are parts of a perpetual revealing, not only of the human spirit, but also of the mind of God. A Review is the reflective medium in periodical literature in which the kaleidoscopic confusion of the passing show of things is at least tentatively brought into a composed picture for the intellect, and of reasoned motive for the will. Bacon said, "I have taken all knowledge for my province." Even so, no interest in human life is alien to a great Review.

This has been and will continue to be a *Methodist* REVIEW. And that does not imply essential doctrinal distinction from any other religious body holding with us the historic faith of Christendom. In fact, we do not hold a faith; our faith holds us. Our theology, in common with that of other orthodox bodies, is the logical development of the great catholic creeds. But there is a Methodist emphasis which is not one of dogmatic statement, but of experience and life. Two historic notes, given us by our founder, still abide as vitally important in the twentieth century as in the eighteenth; these are the "Witness of the Spirit" and "Holiness to the Lord." The conscious reality of the divine life in the soul of man, and its necessary expression in the holy life—these are the two undying elements in all true religion. For this Methodist double emphasis upon the spiritual experience and upon its ethical consequence, the METHODIST REVIEW must stand in the future as in the past.

The logical implications of the Methodist emphasis need fresh enforcement. Christian salvation is something more than acquiescence in verbal formulas, more than mere rescue from impending doom; it means an uttermost salvation, both of the inner and outer life. Christianity must be applied, or it is denied. The Kingdom of God is more than an eschatological dream, it is a conquering climate of the spirit which shall one day vanquish the world's winter of sin and

error and bring in the eternal springtime of the soul. The evangelism of John Wesley was intensely personal in its appeal; it was strenuously social and educational in its program of activities. No message is more fitted to meet the needs of our war-shattered world. The METHODIST REVIEW should help to shape the thought and inspire the action of the church by keeping alive her historic spirit as a supreme solution for the problems of the new day.

The preacher is the principal patron and reader of the REVIEW. Myself a pastor for many years, I covet the chance to help my brethren in their work. The REVIEW should be a magazine of biblical research. The grammatico-historical exegesis and the modern scientific methods of study have not given us a new Bible, but a constructive use of the new learning can help to make the Bible live anew for modern uses. In this year of Pilgrim memories, the pregnant words of John Robinson, of Leyden, shine with fresh meaning: "There is still new light to break forth from the Word of God."

Preaching has become for our time a harder but more vital task. It is a message out of life and to life. There is great need for a revival of expository preaching. I trust that our Methodist ministry may always find the METHODIST REVIEW a "House of the Interpreter," in which well-instructed scribes shall bring forth from the ancient treasure-house of Holy Scripture things new and old, new meanings in the old message, meeting the demand of the day in which we live. I can never forget that the REVIEW is a text-book in the largest school of the prophets on earth, the under-graduate ministry of our church. I long to see it become so helpful in their work and such an inspiration to their thinking that it shall become the companion of a lifetime rather than an incident of the Conference course of study.

But the METHODIST REVIEW should be more than a periodical for preachers, it should be recognized as a necessary and helpful handbook for all the leaders of our church. Did any member of the General Conference who voted for me or for anyone else as editor really have the right to do so unless his name was on the subscription list and he was a faithful reader of its pages? I hereby announce a persistent propaganda to place the REVIEW on the study table, not only of the pastors, but of the lay leaders of the Church.

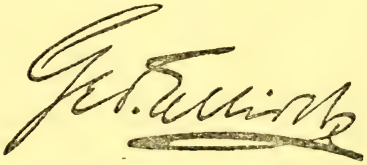
No detailed program for the future conduct of the REVIEW can be now proposed. That depends not solely on the good intentions of the editor, but quite as much on the sort of support he secures from

the scholarship of the church and from its patrons. But while it will always be a METHODIST REVIEW, I trust it will never cease to be a free forum for the frankest discussion of all living questions. The editor will not hold himself responsible for all statements and opinions on these pages, but will always recognize the liberty of scholarship within the recognized bounds of propriety and verified truth. For truth is no land-locked lake; it is a flowing river widening and deepening as it flows toward that ocean of light which is the mind of him "in whom are hid all treasures of wisdom and knowledge."

The mingled mood of fear and joy returns as I end this salutation. For vague as are the ideals of editorship set forth, who can hope to realize even these dim dreams? "We are gods in dreaming, men in act." One can only "follow the gleam" of eternal illusion, always alluring and inspiring, but never wholly realized.

> "How little we bring, when we homeward turn
> From the realm where the untold glories burn,
> Just a hint of the beauty abounding!
> But its stars die away in the glare of the day,
> And its lilies fade in the world-sun's glow;
> In the chalice of speech there remains but the spray
> Of the waters sweet which forever flow,
> The island of earth-life surrounding."

But this fear of partial failure shall not quench the flame of holy desire and high expectancy. I invoke the sympathy and support of all forward-looking folks to aid me in keeping the METHODIST REVIEW true to its record of spiritual and intellectual helpfulness of a hundred years, and to enter a new century of like noble achievement, marching ever to meet the morning of each new day of God.



CAPTAINS IN THE NEW CRUSADE

THE climax of an Annual Conference is the reading of the appointments; so the supreme moment in the General Conference is that in which the chairman of the Committee on Episcopacy an-

nounces the assignments of bishops for the coming quadrennium. There are few sublimer scenes on earth than these two events, in which sixteen thousand traveling preachers and thirty-eight general superintendents, like true knights of the Holy Ghost, go at the command of the church to the sacrificial quests of the Kingdom of God.

Tuesday, May 25, 1920, began a new epoch in Methodist history, for on that day there were commissioned seventeen bishops for service in jurisdictions outside the United States. By this brave act our church met the challenge of the new day. Petty political oligarchies may be able for a time to keep America from fulfilling the Isaian dream of a "servant nation," and thus rob her of the crown of world-leadership won in the war, but Methodism has daringly accepted a spiritual mandate for the world, and become a truly international church. Our General Conference has become one of the most ecumenical of all bodies, civil or religious, and our leaders have already been endowed with vaster world knowledge and a more sensitive world consciousness than most of the world rulers and diplomats.

On the preceding Sunday, May 23, the Day of Pentecost, seventeen new bishops were consecrated, an event probably without precedent in ecclesiastical history. And now, with the breath of God upon their lives and the fire of God burning upon their lips, a like number go forth under the power of the Spirit as "witnesses unto the uttermost part of the earth." Only by the common gospel speech of Whit-Sunday can the confusion and divisions of earth's Babel be transformed into the order and unity of the coming Kingdom of God.

Herewith we give the roll, not of missionary bishops, but of general superintendents charged with missionary tasks:

Birney, the evangelistic educator, with his personal passion for soul-winning, and Keeney, with his splendid record of Centenary success, go to reinforce Lewis, the tireless worker, and Welch, the scholar statesman, in Eastern Asia, probably the coming storm center of history. God grant that they may help to turn the "Yellow Peril" into a golden hope for humanity.

Bickley, with a fine record of administrative success, is sent to Singapore, the "Crossroads of the Eastern World," and our service in the island empire of Malaysia is shared with him by Locke, the brilliant pastor, who will superintend our growing and aggressively missionary church in Manila and the Philippines.

India, in the throes of a silent revolution, awakening from the mystic dreams of ages to a new national consciousness, is to be captained by Warne, the consecrated; Robinson, the sensible; Smith, the efficient organizer of evangelism; and Fisher, the practical mystic in his missionary enthusiasm.

Oldham, himself the finest fruit of our mission work in India, stays in South America, the continent of opportunity, at Buenos Ayres, but is given a helper in the task of redeeming Latin America, Thirkield, who at Mexico City will bring the holy diplomacy of the Kingdom of God to calm the tumult raised by political intrigue and commercial selfishness.

Africa, the Dark Continent, receives two torch-bearers to lift up the light of the world, to illumine its gloom. Johnson, at Cape Town, will help to spiritualize the material empire built by Cecil Rhodes, and Clair, at Monrovia, will be the leader in righteousness of the black folks of Western Africa. Dying upon his knees, David Livingstone breathed the prayer which has blown open the gates for the coming of the holy hosts of God to conquer this long-forgotten field for Christ.

Broken and bleeding Europe is not neglected. Our Centenary program of war reconstruction will be directed by three bishops. Of course Nuelsen returns to Zurich, from which point he will continue his wise and steadying leadership of the wartime among the Central Powers, and go on with the strenuous task of building there a truly evangelical and serving church. In Scandinavia and Finland, Anton Bast, the first foreigner since Coke to become a Methodist bishop, will give to the most primitive Methodism on earth a leadership both in social and personal evangelism which will certainly create a self-supporting church within a decade.

Bishop Edgar Blake, whose compelling mastery of affairs will be much missed in America, goes to Paris, to lend his marvelous efficiency in organization and his far-sighted progressive statesmanship to the solution of the social and religious problems of that seat of old empire, the Mediterranean Basin. In cultured Paris, under the shadow of the Vatican in the Eternal City, in benighted Spain, and in the very citadel of Islam, Northern Africa, he will raise the flag of evangelical faith.

The Centenary survey, with its convicting vision of duty, was followed by the Centenary campaign which laid many millions as tribute at the feet of Christ. The great war has given the world a

new mind to which Methodism must give the direction of Kingdom ideals. No body of men and women was ever more completely controlled, by what may be called a planetary passion and cosmic consciousness, than the General Conference of 1920. But the Centenary and the Conference did not stop with a spasm of ecumenical enthusiasm. Passion blossomed into program. We have followed the wicked war which ended the blasphemous claims of divine right made by visible kings with a holy war to crown Christ, the invisible King. May the church be in perpetual intercession in behalf of these seventeen captains of the new crusade, who now go forth to realize the Centenary dream.

BABEL AND BIBLE

THIS issue of the REVIEW contains an instructive study by Professor F. C. Eiselen on "Israel's Unique Contribution to True Religion," which concedes the debt of the chosen people to the surrounding nations, while conclusively maintaining the originality of their spiritual message. The editor desires to add a corollary to his demonstration.

Hebrew culture and life were influenced by two contacts with the Mesopotamian civilization; the first by heredity through Abraham, their great ancestor, and the last by the captivity, when Israel died as a nation to live as a church. While not subscribing in the least to the rash speculations of Pan-Babylonian theorists, every devout believer in divine revelation must value the gift made by Chaldea and Persia to the form, if not to the substance, of the Book of God.

The exile was a triumphant vindication of the preaching of the prophets. Literary prophecy had its prime stimulus in the world-vision given by the Assyrian conquests in the eighth century before our Lord. When the doom denounced by these spokesmen of Jehovah fell, first upon Samaria, and afterward upon Jerusalem, the moral meaning of history, taught by Amos and his successors, was confirmed by the event, and henceforth all clear-seeing souls must share their discernment of a righteous God as the master of men and nations.

The exile was a sifting process. Old Hebraism had always been a struggle with idolatry and nature-worship; the new Judaism professes and practices unmixed spiritual monotheism. Amos had proclaimed: "I will sift the house of Israel among all nations, like as corn is sifted with a sieve." (Amos 9. 9.) Idolatrous Israel was

absorbed and lost; none but the puritan worshipers of Jehovah preserved their racial life and survived to become the custodians of the oracles of God. The intolerance of post-exilic leaders, such as Ezra and Nehemiah, was a necessary part of the process by which the waters of the river of life were preserved from pollution.

The exile changed the religious emphasis from the community to the individual. With the destruction of the central sanctuary and worship, the solitary soul was driven to find God by the lonely path of prayer and service. Thus Babylon indirectly gave new birth to personal and spiritual religion. In many ways this period had less of religious originality than that just preceding the captivity. Its note was conservation rather than discovery. Its typical exponent is Ezekiel, who, while a true heir of the prophetic vision, is still more the ecclesiastic and the law-giver. New emphasis is placed upon preceptive morality. The voice of the sages is heard mingling with that of the seers, and the schoolman, with the law as his lesson book, supersedes in large measure the message of first-hand inspiration.

The exile stimulated the intellectual life of the chosen people. Over and over is recorded the wonder and admiration excited by the "learning of the Chaldeans." It is one of the miracles of history and a proof of the divine leadership of the people of God, that they were able to assimilate so largely this alien culture without compromising their faith or corrupting their message to the world. A striking parallel is the contact of the early Christian Church with Greek reflective thought, by which religion as life became able to define itself by theology, the science.

As a result of this new historic environment, the canon of the Old Testament was finally formed, at a somewhat later date. When the seer, the statesman, and the sage have done their work, the scribe comes to his own. The primitive race traditions, the patriarchal tales, the legal codes, the hero sagas, the annals of the kings, the sermons of the prophets, the songs of the minstrels, the counsels of the wise—all are collected and so spiritually edited that we see the whole human story, and especially that of the Hebrew people, interpreted in the light of the kingship of the Eternal.

The work of the synagogue was a great gain to religious faith. Surely the Holy Spirit was in the process and inspired the skill which transformed the fragments of a nation's traditions and literature into the one Book of books, with its grand unity of growing divine purpose. That the work was not so perfectly done but that modern

scholarship has been partly able to untwist its strands and disclose the process of construction is a priceless gain to science, but infinitely more precious is the whole organism of Holy Scripture which Providence has placed in the hands of the humble believer, undisturbed by criticism.

It is perhaps premature to fully formulate a detailed statement of the contributions to the second message from Chaldean and Persian sources. But, surely, the river of divine revelation is a stronger and fuller stream because its healing waters have been distilled on many distant mountains and collected through many channels. All the life of the ancient world has entered the sacred Book. Babylonian cosmogonies, purged of nature myths, Persian dreams of angelic hierarchies, of world judgment, resurrection and restoration, unsullied by its deadly dualism—these, and much more, have shaped the external structure of Holy Scripture, but its inward deposit is the word of Jehovah, given through men of God who were moved by the Holy Spirit.

In the Bible every form of literary expression and all the wealth of the ancient world in science, philosophy and culture have been combined into an instrument through which is spoken the will of God to his children. By the discipline of exile, the Old Testament became the divinely human and the humanly divine Book which we cherish, the true Word of God.

And is not this the lesson of it all? All nations are divinely called and play their part in fulfilling the holy purposes of God, all history is inspired, all of nature and life is a part of the self-revelation of God. But it is the Hebrew people, which above all is the prophet nation, whose supreme spiritual genius has organized this wealth and revealing material into that Book of God which has become supremely the book of man.

THE MASTER AND THE BROKEN REED

A bruised reed shall he not break.—Isaiah 42. 3.

In a pleasant meadow land there stood a great field of reeds. And they grew up, tall and strong, drinking the golden wine of sunshine and receiving the heavenly gifts of dew and rain. One among them was the strongest and most beautiful of all. The sunlight had colored her a rich emerald hue and her veins were full of the sweet juices of the soil, and she wore a proud plume of seed vessels, which bent gracefully before the caress of the passing wind.

How she rejoiced in her tall, slender beauty, and cried out: "How glad I am, singing my low murmuring song, as the fingers of the wind touch me to music! And see my waving plume of life, from which there shall grow other reeds to wave in the light of the sweet summers yet to come!"

Just then a great clumsy ox, grazing in the meadows, trod upon the reed with his heavy hoof and crushed her to the ground. For a time she lay prostrate in silent agony, and then, as a little strength came back, she raised herself a little from the earth. "Alas!" she cried, "my ruined glory, my lost loveliness! No more shall I lift my head proudly among my fellows, and no more sing with them our whispered songs at the zephyr's touch. And, woe upon woe! My featherly plume is withered and blighted; the life is slain in my seeds, and no life of mine shall joy in the sunshine of another year." And so the once proud, glad, and beautiful reed sank back in utter despair.

Weary hours passed by, and the master musician, with his pupil, was walking through the meadows. His heart was all aglow with the fullness of the year and the beauty of the fields, and many a new strain, from murmuring brook and rustling reed and whispering leaves and warbling bird was woven into the song he was making. The glorious music was all finished in his soul, and he said: "Let me find a fitting reed, and I will make me a pipe on which to play my tune. Ah! here is one!" and he stooped and lifted the fallen reed. "But, master," said his pupil, "that reed is bruised and half withered; it is only fit to be broken up and cast away." "Nay," answered the master, "it has been the noblest reed of all; it is full of music, and enough is left for my use."

Then with his knife he severed the bruised and withered portions, while the poor reed meantime shuddered with the pain. He then shaped from the sound stalk that was left a noble pipe. When it was finished he placed it to his lips and breathed through it the ravishing melody of his glorious song. And as men listened they seemed to see all the splendor of all the sunshine that ever bathed it, and to smell all the fragrance of the meadow where it grew, and to hear all the sweet voices of the summer coming on its breath—now sad and sweet, now loud and jubilant, now quiet as the evening and the stars.

And the reed said to herself: "I mourn not for my former glory, since the Master did not despise me, even when bruised, but chose me and shaped me for his grandest music."

THE ARENA

FANNY CROSBY IN OUR HYMNAL.

THE first instance of which we have a record of the application to Jesus of the peculiar Messianic name, "Thou Son of David," was when two blind men made use of it in their plea for mercy. If men with two good eyes could not see Jesus as the Promised One, men whose hearts could see, though their eyes were blind, were able to recognize him. Frances Ridley Havergal gives the secret of the wonderful work of Fanny Crosby in the words, "Her heart can see." I want, out of my experience, to bear testimony to that truth.

With the approach of the hundredth anniversary of Fanny Crosby's birth (she was born on March 24, 1820), there was doubtless much written about America's blind songstress by those who knew her personally. It was never my privilege to know her. She was well past the ordinary limits of human life before I was old enough to know anything about her. But before I began to give attention to the authorship of those things which moved my child-heart I learned to know and love some songs. At least two of these songs, the two I loved best, I now know to have been written by Fanny Crosby.

I am one of those, now so numerous in the church, who cannot name the time and place of conversion. As long ago as I can remember I was as anxious to do the will of my heavenly Father as I am to-day. I can now recall that in my early childhood I was as sure of my acceptance with God as I am now. As I close my eyes for a moment, I can see again the "children's meeting" I attended when a boy. It was led weekly by the wife of the pastor of the Congregational Church, and held in the Sunday school room of either the Baptist or the Methodist Church. It was a very successful attempt at church federation. In this meeting we learned to sing

> "Blessèd assurance, Jesus is mine!
> O what a foretaste of glory divine!
> Heir of salvation, purchase of God,
> Born of his Spirit, washed in his blood."

We learned the words of this and other songs, and they helped to establish us in the Christian life. They furnished also the basis for a progressive revelation of Christian truth. I remember how in my early "teens," long before I knew anything of "entire consecration," I was sitting in class meeting one Sabbath morning and heard the older folks singing,

> "Perfect submission, perfect delight,
> Visions of rapture now burst on my sight.
> Angels descending, bring from above
> Echoes of mercy, whispers of love,"

and suddenly there came to me the truth that perfect joy in life is found

only in perfect agreement with the will of God. I have had much difficulty in the practice, but I have never doubted the truth.

I have never known the reason for the hold the other song had upon me as a child. I think it was all due to the stanzas of it. Certainly there is not much in "Rescue the Perishing" to appeal to a child. I have read Spurgeon's exposition of "Herein is love, not that we loved him, but that he loved us," and I doubt if that fine statement is more expressive than

"Though they are slighting him,
Still he is waiting,
Waiting the penitent child to receive."

And, while the philosophy is not new, was it ever more beautifully said than here?

"Down in the human heart,
Crushed by the tempter,
Feelings lie buried that grace can restore:
Touched by a loving heart,
Wakened by kindness,
Chords that were broken will vibrate once more."

There is little doubt that the cause of true worship has suffered much from some of the so-called "gospel hymns." Many of the songs are neither devotional nor poetic, and many of the tunes are anything but good music. No one would claim for Fanny Crosby a great poetic genius, and clearly she often sacrifices thought to rhyme and rhythm, but the sentiment is generally good and wholesome.

Besides these two, three other of Fanny Crosby's songs have found a place in the Hymnal. All three are prayers, and as aids to devotion they have meant much to many people. Some one has said that the song beginning "Pass me not, O gentle Saviour," has been sung by more people than any other song in the world. A thoughtful man in my congregation said to me recently, "I never sing the third stanza of the hymn we sang this morning because I don't believe it." The hymn was one of the most popular of Charles Wesley's contributions. But everybody sings

"Trusting only in thy merit,
Would I seek thy face;
Heal my wounded, broken spirit,
Save me by thy grace.

"Thou the spring of all my comfort,
More than life for me;
Whom have I on earth beside thee?
Whom in heaven but thee?"

While the other two are less popular, they are probably sung occasionally by every congregation. And it would be well for us if the prayer of one of them could be offered in sincerity by all of us,

"Not for ease or worldly pleasure,
Nor for fame my prayer shall be;
Gladly will I toil and suffer,
Only let me walk with thee."

It is said that during her long lifetime Fanny Crosby wrote about six thousand songs, less than half of which were ever published. Many of these were written to order, and some on an agreement with publishers to furnish a fixed number each week. Certainly much that is unworthy of preservation would result from such work. Great hymns are not made in that way. But few would question the right of the five that have found a place in our Hymnal to the position they occupy. What another hundred years will do to Fanny Crosby's fame none can tell. Methodists and others will go on singing a few of her hymns to the great benefit of millions of people, and the name of their author will be honored through coming generations. No other writer of hymns so influenced my own childhood, and through it my later life. I believe no other has such influence with children now as she whose "heart could see."

D. O. Colgrove.

San Jose, California.

MODERN PREACHING

I have just read and reread in the current number of the Methodist Review what "Neighbor Nameless" has to say on "Ministering," and I am wondering if his four visitors correctly interpreted the situation relative to the message that is being delivered by the average preacher to-day. I surely cannot think so in every particular. The first visitor complained because he had heard so much about "The Function of the Church," the "Social Program of Jesus," "Christianity and World Democracy," but *not a word* about "the life that is hid with Christ in God," or "the peace that passeth all understanding." I presume that every preacher has taken such themes as these; but surely our preachers are good enough interpreters of God's Word as they make their application of it to point out that "The Function of the Church" is to deal with all phases of human life as we meet them to-day. Some are sad and we must have the word of comfort: some are discouraged, they need a word of cheer; some are fearfully tempted as they face modern business conditions, they must be reminded that no temptation shall overtake any Christian but that if he will use his spiritual eyes he can see a way of escape. Then if the social program of Jesus is ever applied it must be through people who have been redeemed by His own precious blood. What is needed more in this day of industrial ferment than to make an application of the teachings of Jesus so that capitalist and toiler alike shall be made to see that they are mutually depended the one upon the other, and that they have no solution of their problems so long as they fly at each other's throats?

He also says that "he hears *not one word*, from one year's end to another, of the Holy Spirit in His convicting, converting, witnessing and sanctifying ministry." I presume there are not as many sermons preached these days about the Holy Spirit as twenty years ago, when special stress was laid upon some particular kind of holiness where the spirit of controversy bulked large indeed, and which were more vociferous than comforting or enlightening; but is it possible that in their preaching the modern ministers are ignoring the great work of the Holy Spirit? I should hate to think that this example proves the rule.

Visitor number two had quit going to church because he had heard so much about the war. If there was actually nothing but "war," then he had a grievance; but in general was it not necessary for the ministry to speak out very positively upon topics which grew out of the war? It took a good many months (altogether too many as we see it now) to bring the people of this nation to the point where they were willing to enter the war. "He kept us out of war," was the great slogan which helped to send Woodrow Wilson back to the White House for another term. Eternal principles of justice and liberty were at stake, and the danger was that they would be subverted throughout the world. It was necessary that the pulpits of the land speak as one voice regarding our duty in the world crisis. Then when we actually got into the war there were many who were deeply troubled. Their dear ones were volunteering or being drafted; some were sick, others wounded, some missing, others dying. A thousand questions leaped from burdened hearts. They were in doubt, apprehensive, unsettled. The real pastor could only take the principles that were at stake and interpreting those principles in the light of God's Word strive to calm the minds and comfort the hearts of the people that they might see how without the shedding of the blood of their sons there could be no remission of the world's sin. It was terrible, this war business, and there were times when the preacher wished that he might think or talk about something else, but the old world had gone wrong and it became the business of those who believed in God to check the madness and give what was left of humanity a new chance. Did the preacher take a war topic every Sunday? O, no! Not if he actually understood his mission. He knew that there were hearts that were hungry for just what visitor number two hungered for and he tried to satisfy. If this man got only war sermons then his pastor failed to sense the situation, and in the spirit of love he should have gone and had a heart-to-heart talk with him instead of absenting himself from the church to nurse a fancied grouch.

As to visitors three and four, husband and wife, we will all agree that there are many organizations anxious to secure exploitation through the pulpit. Many, perhaps the majority, of these matters are of great public concern, but very few have a right to step in and insist that the pastor shall give up his regular morning service for the purpose of pushing their cause.

It looks as if there are some organizations who think they can accomplish their object by having just one meeting in which they decide

to go to the expense of sending out a circular letter to the clergy asking for a sermon upon their particular hobby the following Sunday. Frequently the request does not appear until Friday (thank goodness some do not appear until the following Monday). I wonder when they think a live pastor begins to make preparation for his Sunday work.

The fact is there are just a lot of men, not excepting our own officials, who seem to take it for granted that the average preacher does not know anything about his field or anything about the kind of a message he ought to deliver to his people. So it has come to pass that his mail is flooded with plans for running his church, plans that have never been tried out, and he has numerous suggestions for sermons which are for the purpose of boosting some particular cause upon the success of which this or that official's job depends.

Then there are some folks who seem to like to stay in the "hospital" all the time. There is a "hospital department" in the church, and those who are hurt in the midst of life's battle have a right to step in there for "first aid," or for careful nursing for a time if necessary, but they should not expect to stay there forever. There is a host of people who are in the thick of the fight against sin, and they need help to keep the issue clear, to urge them on in the struggle, to encourage them when the battle goes hard and the enemy apparently is getting the upper hand.

The preacher must minister to "all classes and conditions of men." Sometimes it is difficult to adapt every sermon to the need of every member of the congregation, but some folks who are hungry should expect to receive enough to last for more than a week, and there are others who seem to depend more for comfort upon the preacher than they do upon the Lord.

The prophets of the olden time not only told about the coming Messiah and the glories of His reign, but they discussed current topics and dwelt on many things in which they thundered forth the judgments of the Almighty and on those days there were folks who went away feeling that the prophet was ignorant of their need, but on occasion this same prophet could speak words that were as comforting and soothing as a mother's cradle song at eventide as she cuddled her bairn in her arms when the play day was done.

I have a feeling that the modern minister is not as ignorant of what the human heart really needs these days as "Neighbor Nameless" would have us believe. I am glad that my experience gives me more faith in my brethren than that.

A. S. Haskins.

Editor of the Methodist Review:

If at any time our dear Doctor Kelley shall bring out in fitting book form his delectable recent editorials on "The Ethics of Ridicule," let us hope he will attach to them in some fitting fashion the rare sonnet I lighted on to-day, written by Father Edmond, of Notre Dame and the Heart of Mary, which reads as follows:

TO ST. MARY MAGDALEN

Mid the white spouses of the Sacred Heart,
After its queen, the nearest, dearest thou;
Yet the aureola around thy brow
Is not the virgins'—thine a throne apart.
Nor yet, my Saint, does faith-illumined art
Thy hand with palm of martyrdom endow;
And when thy hair is all it will allow
Of glory to thy head, we do not start.
O more than virgin in thy penitent love!
And more than martyr in thy passionate woe!
Who knelt not with thee on the gory sod,
How should they now sit throned with thee above?
Or where the crown our worship could bestow
Like that long gold which wiped the feet of God?

Brookline, Mass. WILLIAM F. WARREN.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK

ASPECTS OF CURRENT THOUGHT ON THE REUNION OF THE CHURCHES

EVERYWHERE the question of the reunion of the churches is in the air. In all Christendom there cannot be a church or sect that has not been stirred by it. In the case of some denominations it may be that the thought of reunion hardly extends beyond the members of a dissevered family group. So we have earnest discussions of the problems of Methodist or Presbyterian or Lutheran reunion. These various bodies are seeking to heal what they would call their family differences. But it is generally acknowledged that this is for them only "the next thing," not the ultimate goal. Multitudes of Christian people are very clear in their conviction that all divisions in the church are family divisions, and that all must be healed.

The following brief observations have to do—in accordance with the limits of this department of the REVIEW—with other lands than our own. Yet of course the reunion movement is ecumenical; America's part in it the well-informed reader will readily supply. And, indeed, it is a very important part. Who can tell whether it may not be the church of Jesus Christ in America, which now shows the greatest multitude of divisions, that will eventually bear the leading part in the movement that shall bring about the union of all believers?

It is the great war, with its enormous problems, that has forced the question of a united church into the foreground. On every hand it is felt that a divided church cannot heal a divided world. But naturally there is an enormous diversity of opinion as to what the nature of a united church must be, and as to the road that must lead to the goal.

Earnest efforts in behalf of the unity of the church are nothing new. From the days of the apostles to our own the disciples of Christ have sought to heal the schisms in his body, which is the church. But since the close of the earliest period until a time within the memory of living men, these efforts have been chiefly characterized by the preponderance of exclusive claims on the part of the several communions. In this respect a vast change has been taking place before our eyes. The war, together with certain powerful unchurchly tendencies of our time, has been teaching us its lessons. Even Rome is more conciliatory than ever before, though of course she still yields no ground. But the effort of the leaders of the Church of England to come to an understanding with the Nonconformist bodies is worthy of all praise; and the response of these bodies has been no less cordial and broadminded.

As one might have expected, it was in the mission field that the first really significant approaches to the reunion of the churches were effected. The reason is obvious—we will not waste a word in pointing it out. However, a few passages from the records of movements toward Christian unity in the mission fields may be welcomed. In the year 1913 there was held a National Christian Conference in China, under the chairmanship of Dr. John R. Mott. Among the resolutions passed by this Conference, we find the following:

"A. In order to do all that is possible to manifest the unity which already exists among all faithful Christians in China and to present ourselves in the face of the great mass of Chinese non-Christian people as one brotherhood with one common name, this Conference suggests as the most suitable name for this purpose . . . the Christian Church in China.

"B. As steps toward unity, this Conference urges upon the churches: 1. The uniting of churches of similar ecclesiastical order planted in China by different missions. 2. The organic union of churches which already enjoy intercommunication in any particular area, large or small. 3. Federation, local and provincial, of all churches willing to cooperate in the extension of the kingdom of God. 4. The formation of a National Council of the Churches."

In India, too, bold steps have been taken toward unity. As long ago as 1908 five separate missions in South India were united under the name of the South India United Church. It has been proposed to incorporate in a "Federation of Christian Churches in India" all churches and societies whose teaching "is in general agreement with the great body of Christian truth and fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith." While this and other bold proposals have not yet been generally realized, the progress toward unity in the mission fields is altogether wonderful.

Without excluding from our view the mission fields, we will now glance at the situation in some of the countries of Europe. Until the war brought certain great changes, the center of interest in the reunion movement clearly lay in the church of England. The Christian world is familiar with the "Lambeth Quadrilateral" on reunion, the four

principles set forth by the Lambeth Conference in 1888. These, in brief, were: 1. The authority of the Holy Scriptures. 2. The Apostles' and the Nicene Creed. 3. The two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. 4. The historic episcopate. Now most churches would readily enough accept the first three principles, but of course must hesitate as to the fourth. But it is highly significant that many Anglicans have shown themselves ready to interpret the claims of "the historic episcopate" in a way that falls far short of the strict claims of apostolic succession in the sense of the uninterrupted transmission of grace and ecclesiastical authority by the laying on of hands. The opinion of Dr. Headlam (set forth in an article in "The Prayer-Book Dictionary," p. 42) has been explicitly indorsed by many Anglicans. Dr. Headlam's contention is that the main point—indeed, the sole essential point—is the apostolic continuity of the church, as a whole, rather than of the orders within the church. "The authority to consecrate and ordain, or to perform all spiritual offices, resides in and comes from the church to which God gives his Holy Spirit. . . . Ordination depends upon the authority of the church, and not the church upon ordination." If such a view were not indorsed by a considerable number of Anglicans, it might be of little practical consequence, but there are many who indorse it.

To be sure, the effort of Anglicans to be fair to Nonconformists and yet hold fast the full traditional claims of episcopacy, has sometimes led to strange—not to say grotesque—proposals. When, for example, the Bishop of London proposes a method of reuniting the Wesleyan Methodists with the Anglican communion, the impracticability of his plan must be apparent to any representative Nonconformist. Yet it is very good that such proposals be made. If there were no other reason, they serve to show the Anglicans that their characteristic claims go beyond what the Nonconformist conscience can assent to. Union they want, and their conscience will not let them rest until a real union of some sort is attained. But to concede that the validity of Christian offices somehow depends upon the mechanical process of the imposition of hands by bishops in an unbroken succession from the apostles—never. The immense practical value of episcopacy, especially in the mission fields and also in the home lands, in the present distress, is acknowledged today more widely than ever before since the Puritan defection of the seventeenth century. If then the Anglicans should cease to stress the intolerable—because unspiritual—matter of indispensableness of episcopal ordination and should point out more consistently the practical availability of episcopacy, they might be surprised at the largeness and cordiality of the response. But this is just what many of them are doing today, and herein is cause for much thanksgiving. And some are showing their faith by their works, as when Bishop Welldon invited Dr. Jowett to preach from the pulpit of Durham Cathedral.

The large-minded efforts of many Nonconformists in England toward unity are worthy of the highest acknowledgments. If with them the reunion movement is, for the present, in the stage of reuniting minor groups, it must not be inferred that they are minded to stop with that.

Everywhere the need of a reunion with the Anglican communion is more or less clearly acknowledged. In their efforts to come to an understanding with the Anglicans there is something approaching unanimity in their recognition of the practical value of episcopacy in directing the energies of the church, and its availability for conserving the unity of the church; but of course Nonconformists point out that to submit to reordination as a necessary requirement is the same as to deny the power of the Holy Spirit in their present ministry.

The movement toward unity has had a very interesting history in Scotland. The secession of nearly fourscore years ago was no willful schism. And the breach was healed some years ago, though there remain some Presbyterian bodies that still hold aloof. The union of Presbyterians and Episcopalians in Scotland does not seem near.

There are reunion movements in all Christian countries. We have been made to wonder at the new desire of the Greek Church leaders of Russia for understanding with the rest of Christendom. And in France there are Roman Catholic theologians who have shown a desire to approach the Russian Church in a spirit of real conciliation. As to Protestant Germany, now that the church is disestablished, the problem of union is acute. There, however, the question is whether the church that hitherto was held together chiefly by the power of the state will discover that it possesses an inner unity of the Spirit, or whether it must fly into several opposing camps. Up to the present time the prospect of maintaining a large measure of outward unity seems good.

It is a significant fact that, in spite of the abundant popular talk about "an undogmatic Christianity" and purely "practical basis of union," no great leader of thought anywhere has lent countenance to the idea. Let dogma be simplified, they say; let it be purged of all that is non-essential, and let it be used according to the spirit of liberty which is of faith, but some real understanding as to principles is necessary. Moreover, no great leader asks for compromise of principles. The union must be not only unconstrained, it must be with full conviction.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH

THE RESTORATION OF PALESTINE TO THE JEWS AND PROPHECY

THE capture of Jerusalem, December 9, 1918, by the entente Allies under General Allenby, and the defeat of the Turkish army in Palestine and Syria were events of prime importance, the results of which, no doubt, will be far reaching. These victories in the Holy Land brought great joy to both Jews and Christians in many and widely separated lands. The capture of Palestine and its deliverance from the Turkish yoke has awakened a new interest in the future destiny of this vanquished territory entirely out of proportion to its area.

This little strip of land on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, say, from El Avish on the border of Egypt to some point near Beirut on the north, then eastward over the hills and across the Jordan into the plains beyond, has ever had a fascination for the student of history and religion—perhaps never more so than to-day. No wonder, therefore, that we hear on all sides, from Christians as well as Jews, such questions as: Is Jerusalem to become once more the capital for dispersed Israel? Is Palestine, at length, to be restored to the Jews? And not a few Christians ask, Has the time arrived for the "second coming" of Jesus Christ? If so, are we to regard this as a literal fulfillment of prophecy?

For years before the great world war was seriously thought of, there had been a movement among many Jews in various parts of the world, which had for its object the return of this people to its ancient land. Though this project was by no means universal among the Jews, or, indeed, favored by a majority of them, it was, nevertheless, enthusiastically promoted by the so-called orthodox Israelites, and substantially aided by numbers of clear-minded, patriotic, and wealthy people, and more especially by those known as Zionists. Since 1897 the Zionists have met at intervals in large conferences in various places with the one purpose of fostering the "national" idea among the descendants of Jacob. To realize this nationalism it was recommended that not only the colonies already established in Palestine should be supported, but also that new and greater ones should be founded as rapidly as possible, in which the Jewish colonists should be exhorted to engage in agriculture, horticulture, viniculture, forestry, and in the planting of all kinds of orchards. They should also be encouraged to engage in all the handicrafts, industries, and arts in Palestine and the neighboring lands. They were not only to be exhorted and encouraged, but they were also to receive abundant financial aid, either as loans at low interest, or even outright gifts.

By the year 1913 more than fifty such colonies had been founded; of these, some had been established as early as 1870, and nearly a dozen were started in 1910 and 1911. Several of the larger ones have been very prosperous. They were bidding fair to accomplish great things, and were growing steadily in thrift and influence when the great war broke out. It goes without saying that these colonies in common with all Palestine suffered greatly during the great conflict. It is impossible with the data at hand to give an exact estimate of the losses sustained by the Jewish colonies from 1914 to 1918. But it may be stated that the Jews of Palestine are not dejected; on the other hand are greatly elated at the new turn of affairs. Indeed, ever hopeful, they expect not only to restore pre-war conditions, but to put the colonies on a higher plane.

The great majority of Jews in the Holy Land are orthodox Jews. They place religion first; they fully believe that in the providence of God they are about to have dominion over the land of Canaan, that the prophecies regarding the restoration are to be literally fulfilled. It may be said that this class of Jews, notwithstanding the numberless disappointments, untold and repeated persecutions, have never for a moment doubted the words of their ancient prophets. As Balfour has well said: "Neither

cruelty nor contempt, neither unequal laws nor illegal oppression, have ever broken their spirit or scattered their unquenchable hopes." Dispersed all over the world, despised and oppressed as they are, they have throughout the ages offered up three times daily the following prayer: "Save us, O God of our salvation, and gather us together and deliver us from the nations. May it be acceptable to thee, Eternal: Our God and the God of our fathers that the sanctuary may be rebuilt speedily in our days, and our portion assigned us in thy law. There will we serve thee in reverence as of old, in days of yore." Another prayer offered at the Passover celebration is: "At present we celebrate it here, but the next year we hope to celebrate it in the land of Israel. O build Jerusalem speedily in our days."

Such prayers are based upon their belief in the literal fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies regarding the restoration of Israel to the land of their fathers. Later Jewish apocalyptic writings have contributed additional grounds for such a faith.

It will be generally admitted that the Hebrew prophets predicted not only the dispersion of the Jews for their sins and infidelity to Jehovah, but also just as clearly their restoration, conditioned upon their repentance and return to God. Even in Deuteronomy—whether written by Moses or in the days of Josiah is immaterial as far as the discussion of this question is concerned—the restoration of the Hebrews is plainly predicted. We read in 30. 4f.: "If any of thine outcasts be in the uttermost parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from thence will he fetch thee: and the Lord thy God will bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it." We read also in the third verse: "Then the Lord thy God will turn thy captivity and will have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the peoples whither the Lord thy God hath scattered thee."

Isaiah is full of similar predictions, so are Jeremiah and some of the minor prophets. According to these the Jews, though dispersed all over the earth, are to be gathered together and returned to Palestine: Jerusalem is to become the center of worship and not only Jews but all nations are to flow into it (Isa. 2. 2-4). The remnant is to be gathered from all countries whither Jehovah had driven them. Israel and Judah are to be delivered and a descendant of David is to rule as king over them (Jeremiah 23. 5ff.) The orthodox Jews regard Daniel's predictions as the most important of all Messianic prophecies. They never fail to quote the following, which they interpret literally: "The God of heaven shall set up a kingdom, in the days of those kings, which shall never be destroyed, nor shall the sovereignty thereof be left to another people" (2. 44). Then again: "And the kingdom and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High: his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him" (7. 27). The orthodox Jew assures us that these predictions of Daniel teach plainly not only that the Jews are to be literally restored to Canaan, but also that they are to have universal sway over the entire earth.

It would be easy to multiply such predictions, but let the above suffice, for they fully present the views of the orthodox Jews regarding their belief in a literal return to Palestine and a literal restoration of their people to the throne of David in Jerusalem. We say orthodox Jews, for it must be remembered that the majority of Jews do not belong to this class. There are a goodly number of Jews who are out-and-out agnostics, unbelievers, who repudiate the faith of their fathers without accepting any religious creed. Then there are Reformed Jews, who stand practically in their interpretation of the Bible upon the same platform as the Unitarians. While not absolutely rejecting the prophecies, they regard much of the language as figurative, purely symbolical, as dreams, visions, or beautiful poems. The most advanced Reformed Jews have no faith in a literal restoration of their people to Palestine, and just as little in the Zionist movement, maintaining that the project is purely chimerical, and, therefore, usually against it. They contend that the Jewish people have nothing to gain, but everything to lose, if forced to live in one immense ghetto separated from the rest of the world. Much has been written by prominent and learned Jews against Zionism. The following may be given as a fair example. It is from the pen of a great scholar, one of the best-known Jewish writers in America, Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania. He is reported as having said in a recent address at one of the Reformed synagogues of Chicago: "The modern concept of Zionism is based largely upon a literal belief of biblical prophecies, and upon sentiment. There is to-day no real Jewish nation, and we Jews may as well reconcile ourselves to that fact. The orthodox Jew still believes his people will inhabit Zion, prays for it, and hopes for it—but it is sheer sentiment devoid of all practical application."

As already stated, the Jews are not alone in the belief that Palestine is to be restored to them, for many Christians have shared this view all through the centuries. These, too, based their arguments upon Old Testament prophecies. It is significant that though our Lord does often speak of his coming again, he has nothing to say concerning the restoration of the Jews to Palestine, after their dispersion. We notice the same silence in the Gospels and Epistles. Though the early church believed in the "second coming" of the Lord, and that speedily, as did Paul and Peter, it too, just as the apostles, is utterly silent about repeopling of the Holy Land by the Jews. The subject did not enter very largely into the theology of the church during the long, dark night of the middle ages. But after the Reformation some of the smaller sects preached the "second coming" in its crudest form. And so from the days of Luther to our own time the subject has found its advocates not only in small dissenting bodies, but also among some few learned and earnest Christians in the larger denominations. It has been a favorite doctrine of the professional evangelists, regardless of church affiliation, from the days of Moody. Though rarely, it is championed by some modern Roman Catholic theologians.

This is not the place to enter into the subject at length. We shall, therefore, simply quote a few lines from a book by William E. Blackstone,

a well-known Premillennialist, a member in good standing of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in order to show what they teach. He says on page 37 of Jesus is Coming: "Premillennial Christians hold much in common with the Jews, but also that our Lord Jesus Christ is the Messiah; that he is to return to the earth and overthrow Satan, all ungodly government and lawlessness, and establish a kingdom of righteousness, having the church with himself as sovereign, Jerusalem as the capital, regathered and converted Israel as the center, and all nations included in a universal world-wide kingdom of pure and blessed government."

It will be seen from the above that both orthodox Jews and Premillennial Christians interpret the prophecies literally. Both believe in a literal restoration of the Jews to Canaan, and the literal reign of a king in Jerusalem. If we look at the matter more closely we find irreconcilable differences. The one looks for a Messiah who is *yet to come*, the promised "Branch" of the house of David; the other teaches that this King will be no other than Jesus Christ, who has already come once, but is to return a *second time*. The Premillennialists teach that the Jews restored to this new kingdom will be converted Jews, that is, Christians. The orthodox Jews on the other hand "assert that Jehovah will gather his chosen people from the ends of the earth, restore the temple service as of old (including such a crude survival of primitive worship as animal sacrifices) and re-establish both the ancient Jewish priesthood and the Jewish kingdom." It seems to us that the orthodox Jew is more logical and consistent than the Christian who believes in the literal "second coming" of Christ, for, as Davidson well says: "There are prophecies in the Old Testament that predict a restitution of the temple ceremonial, with as much explicitness as the restoration to Canaan is predicted in others." (See Zech. 14. 16 and the closing chapters of Ezekiel.)

What, then, are our conclusions on this subject?

1. It would be contrary to sober criticism, as well as out of harmony with what we know of God's method of dealing with nations, to expect a literal fulfillment of these prophecies, whether we look at them from the standpoint of the orthodox Jews or from that of the Premillennialists. No one will deny that there are predictions concerning the rebuilding of the temple, the restoration of the Jews to their ancient land as well as of the "Branch" out of the house of David to rule over the reconstructed state. But were not these fulfilled before the destruction of the temple and the conquest of Palestine by the Romans in 70 A. D.? If so, why should the Jews apply them to subsequent ages? They rejected the Messiah, and by so doing forfeited their claim to the possession of Canaan. Either the teachings of the Jews or those of Christ and his apostles must be rejected, for they are irreconcilable. If animal sacrifices are to be offered again on Mount Zion, what becomes of the Christian faith, the cornerstone of which is the death and atonement of Christ? What of the sacrifice made once for all by our great High Priest? (Heb. 10. 10). According to the orthodox Jews, not only is Israel to be restored, but also all nations are to come to Jerusalem to worship and celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles with its ancient rites and ceremonies (Zech. 14. 16).

This would be a conversion and reversion to Judaism and a rejection of the sacrifice made by Jesus Christ, our great High Priest, on Calvary.

Equally unreasonable is the interpretation of the prophecies by the Premillennialists; yea, more so, for they base their doctrine of a literal reign of Jesus Christ on earth almost entirely upon the first few verses of the twentieth chapter of Revelation, a book full of imagery, highly symbolical and figurative, which cannot be interpreted in a literal sense. Our Saviour very distinctly taught that his kingdom was not of this world, but spiritual, not material, internal, not external. Immanuel is not the God of some particular spot, but God in us. The seat of Christ's kingdom is not Jerusalem, Samaria, or any other place on earth, but the heart of his people. "It is certainly more consonant with the genius of Christianity to look for a triumph of the gospel in the earth by moral forces, and by the agency of the Holy Spirit within the souls of men than to expect the stupendous miracle of Christ's reappearance as a ruler on this globe for the spiritual subjugation of unbelievers and enemies."

2. It would be a physical impossibility to settle all the Jews in Palestine. There are about fifteen million of them, "scattered abroad." Even should they all desire to be restored to Palestine, not one tenth of them could be accommodated. The present population of Palestine is about 800,000; of these 550,000 are Moslems and about 150,000 Christians of various nationalities, and fewer than 100,000 Jews. That is, about one Jew to every eight of the population. Now, will these Moslems and Christians quietly move away and surrender their homes to the Jews? Hardly, for Palestine, with its sacred places, is just as dear to the Moslems and Christians as it is to the Jews. In the years to come the Moslems and Christians will, undoubtedly, increase about in the same ratio as the Jews. But some one will say, the Jews will immigrate in larger numbers from this time on than any other people. Even so, it will be many years before they can outnumber the rest of the inhabitants. But should the time ever come that the non-Jewish population should be in the minority, are we to believe that the Jews would deport them, as the Turks have Armenians? Certainly not, for such barbarism has about ended. Moreover, the Moslems of Palestine have been there for more than a thousand years, and the Jews have been away from there for about twice as long. What right, therefore, have the latter to claim all Palestine at present? It was not theirs to begin with. They obtained it by cruel conquest from the ancient Canaanites and were in turn driven out by ruthless conquerors. It would be difficult after the lapse of so many centuries to prove the Jews' moral right to reestablish themselves in Palestine.

Another question to be considered is that of boundaries. It has always been so. Large portions of what we sometimes call the Holy Land were never really under Hebrew dominion. George Adam Smith aptly asks: "What is *Palestine?* Save under the Romans, the name has never had exact borders; to-day it is perhaps more vaguely applied than at any other time." When this part of the Turkish Empire will have been redivided, new boundaries will, no doubt, be fixed. Egypt will, of course,

remain British. But France will have the controlling voice in the government of Syria. How far the boundaries of Palestine are to extend northward and eastward is still to be settled. They cannot be made to include the Lebanon country with its 400,000 inhabitants, mostly Christians, who have been so for fifteen hundred years. Then there is the city of Beirut with a population of more than 100,000. Of these fully two thirds are Christian, with scarcely any Jews. It will certainly be a part of the Lebanon, and so will Damascus. At any rate neither of these two cities will form a part of the proposed new Jewish state. Edom and much of the country beyond Jordan will be given to the Arabs, when the final division is made. It is useless, therefore, to speak of the extension of boundaries as some of the Zionists have done. In the very nature of things the promised land of Zionism must needs be small, not as large as the State of Vermont, but perhaps of the same size as Wales, which, with all its mineral wealth, fine grazing and arable land, great industries and export trade, has only a few more than two million inhabitants.

Are we then to discourage the efforts of Zionists to colonize the Holy Land? By no means. On the other hand we heartily favor the project, and we bid god-speed to all those who desire to settle in the ancient land of their fathers if that can be done without detriment and prejudice to the present inhabitants. Let all such colonists enjoy every privilege a free man should enjoy anywhere, but never at the expense of other people's enjoyment and liberty. But if in the course of time the Jews should increase in these new colonies in such numbers as to outgrow all other nationalities in the country, there should be no objection to the establishment of an independent Jewish state, call it what you may, in which the Jewish majority should have complete control. Should that day ever come we have faith to believe that this people, who have suffered as no other people have, would be magnanimous and liberal enough to welcome all men to share their liberties in a land as sacred and dear to Christians, Moslems, and Jews.

BOOK NOTICES

The Christian Doctrine of Faith. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, D.D. 8vo, pp. ix+419. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $4, net.

ONE of the most pressing needs before the church is "the vitalizing of doctrine" by a pulpit which should resume its teaching function. There has been a breakdown of faith in certain quarters due to many causes. Some held a traditional or conventional faith without conviction, others relied far too exclusively on emotional appeals, others again were perplexed by scientific thought, and not a few were overtaken by dismay through the loss of loved ones. All this has threatened to destroy the landmarks of the soul. The call then is for the church to take its message seriously and to restate it in terms of new demands and aspirations.

Those who help in this direction are rendering most valuable service. Dr. Hastings's previous volume on The Christian Doctrine of Prayer came at an opportune hour and it brought relief to many an embarrassed soul. All the helpful features in the methods of approach to and treatment of that vital subject are seen in the present volume on Faith. Those who are in need of light and guidance on this theme will find it skillfully discussed in eighteen chapters. Faith has been well described as "an effective force whose measure has never yet been taken." Dr. Hastings has succeeded in estimating the importance, necessity, heroism and value of faith. All who are familiar with previous volumes by this versatile editor know what to expect from him. Sufficient to say that this latest volume maintains the same high standards. The busy preacher will find material gathered from an extensive library, of a kind that he himself cannot acquire, and so carefully sifted that only the best has found a place in these pages. Each chapter is prefaced with a select bibliography to help any who would further pursue the theme. In harmony with the practical character of faith, most of the illustrations are from biography and history, while there are also copious extracts from poetry. The discussions are clear and forceful and they are supported by appropriate quotations from the best writers. For instance, the chapter on "The Growth of Faith" deals with the consciousness of progress, the encouragement of progress, the signs of progress, and there are seventeen references. In the discussion we read: "Much of our faith, so called, is only a beating of the air, and not really an advancement of the soul; we profess a great deal which has no practical bearing on our lives. Yet all true believing is becoming, and a man cannot be a follower of the Lamb, in the real sense of the term, without his becoming moment by moment a different man; he alters his stature, not indeed by taking thought thereunto, but even as the lilies grow; and adding together the receiving and the becoming, we find that we are the children of God." On the place of prayer in the growth of faith there is this pointed illustration: "A young artist once complained to William Blake that the power of invention had forsaken him. To his astonishment, Blake turned to his wife suddenly, and said, 'It is just so with us, is it not, for weeks together, when the visions forsake us? What do we then do?' asked he. 'We kneel down and pray,' said she." The chapter on "The Fight of Faith," after an introduction on faith in God which imparts union and friendship with God, is divided into three parts on the enemy, the purpose, the method. The preacher will here find material for a strong sermon on 1 Tim. 6. 12: "Fight the good fight of faith, lay hold on eternal life." An encouraging sermon on The Art of Appreciation can be prepared out of the chapter on "Faith in Men." A timely sermon can be found in the chapter on "The Range of Faith," in daily life, in science, in society. A stimulating message might be obtained from the chapter on "The Venture of Faith," which treats of sight, knowledge, risk, worth. The chapters on "Faith in Jesus," "Faith in Christ as Saviour," "The Full Assurance of Faith," "The Foundation of Faith," "The Confirmation of Faith," "Justification by Faith," "Sanctification by Faith," "Personality in Faith," open new

avenues of thought and study for the preacher who has insight and independence. "In the present half-believing age we are tempted to concentrate our strength upon work the benefits of which are immediate and visible. The man who loses some part of his faith often turns his back upon purely spiritual tasks, and sets himself to secular philanthropies which promise speedy and immediate transformation. While we must never disparage gracious social enterprises, or think of them as of inferior sacredness, the highest tasks are those which demand the most gigantic faith, and force us into arduous conflict." This is one of the insidious dangers which confront us, and it could not be better stated. On another page, a good point is thus made: "Faith is a personal relationship. It is between persons; it is not between things. Nor is it between persons and things. We can trust ourselves to a ladder, a bridge, or a boat; but it is evident that confidence in the uniformity of natural law and in the adaptability of any such inanimate instrument as a ladder or a boat to our purpose, is not faith but knowledge founded on inference, and certain in proportion to the validity of the reasoning on which it is founded." In the interest of clear thinking it is well to be reminded that "reason is not the scientific intellect but the rational nature of man. A thing which cannot be demonstrated may yet be reasonable. The existence of God can never be proved by a certain number of arguments; but faith in God can nevertheless be a reasonable faith. And only the faith which has the sanction of reason can be a true faith. The very ventures of faith are, as it were, directed by reason, and rooted in it." Familiar terms are clearly expounded, distinctions are strikingly made, conclusions are convincingly drawn, and the entire subject is handled with satisfying thoroughness. This volume will take rank among the best of the new type of devotional and theological literature.

Evangelism in the Remaking of the World. By ADNA WRIGHT LEONARD. 12mo, pp. 197. New York: The Methodist Book Concern. Price, $1 net.

The Ministry of the Word. By G. CAMPBELL MORGAN. 12mo, pp. 222. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, $1.50 net.

THERE are indications on all hands that this is to be one of the great evangelistic years of the Christian Church. By the grace of God and the enlightened cooperation of Christian people it might be made the greatest evangelistic year of the Church of Christ. The spirit of evangelism is taking possession of the clergy and the laity, and many matters which have hitherto claimed precedence are being relegated to a subordinate position where they belong. The note of adventure is reappearing and with it the note of confidence, leading the followers of Christ to be unafraid and fearless in this preeminent campaign to win the world for Him who is our only hope and deliverance. Bishop Leonard speaks out of a successful evangelistic pastorate, and the autobiographical features in this volume are helpfully attractive. While it is a book of principles, his exposition is enforced by illustrations from personal experience, which offer direction

as to plans and methods of work. He recognizes, as others have done, that the exacting claims upon the modern minister often tend to make him an organizer rather than a prophet, the manager of an institution rather than the pastor of his people, an agent of finance more than an apostle of the Spirit, an evangelist of the gospel and a teacher of the truth in Christ. It is not surprising that Gipsy Smith told the bishop, in reply to a question, that the greatest defect in the preaching of American ministers is that they have lost their power of appeal. In this volume many reasons are assigned for this lack of passion, but *the* reason is that the demands of institutionalism have crowded out the duties of inspirationalism. The preacher has thus virtually become a pack horse or an all 'round handy man when he should be, above all things, a prophet of the living God charged with the commission to engage in the work of pastoral evangelism. The church is realizing its mistake and the awakening of the laity is one of the most encouraging signs of the times. The much misunderstood phrase "educational evangelism" is discussed in this volume. As a matter of fact, the church has not yet grasped Christ's conception of childhood and youth. A needed protest is uttered against the use of so-called "gospel hymns" which are a travesty of religion, and a plea is urgently made for the more general use of the great hymns which have enriched the life of the church and are far more effective to train the present generation to bring forth works that are worthy of Christ. The chapter on "Evangelism in Social Service" guards against the trend in some circles to magnify the secular at the expense of the spiritual. "I have listened eagerly and sympathetically to noted lecturers who are known as social-service experts. They have shown a sympathetic grasp of their subject and have explained in very clear terms what they believe to be the cause of social discontent, but they have said nothing about the personal, divine Christ and his power to transform the lives of men. It is at this most vital point that they have failed." On another page the warning is still more explicit. "In their emphasis on social service large numbers of preachers have lost the evangelistic note, while all too often those who place emphasis on evangelism seem to be utterly oblivious of the importance of social service." What gives value to the chapter on "Evangelism in the Sunday Night Service" is that the conclusions are the outgrowth of the author's own experience. They are not counsels of perfection but counsels for practice. Among the "Safeguards of Evangelism" mention is made of the Christian home, the Christian school and the Christian ministry, with special reference to some of the needs of our own church. This volume commands attention, not merely because it is by one of our bishops but because it is by one who has made full proof of his ministry in the practical tasks of the pastorate. As supplementing this volume by Bishop Leonard, we place by its side the latest and best volume by Dr. G. Campbell Morgan. He describes his ministry as having been "upon occasion prophetic, constantly evangelistic and principally pastoral and teaching." There is a discerning chapter on the content and meaning of the term "The Word." "The Word is grace and truth, essentially, absolutely; and in their relation to all things. The Word is that

expression of grace and truth which makes them comprehensible. The Word is the record of the expression of grace and truth; which record is at once the germ and norm of interpretation. The Word is the interpretation of the record of the expression of grace and truth, as they, through it, progressively unfold their meanings, and urge their claims." These points are further developed with the author's characteristic skill in Scripture exposition. Part II is on "The Primitive Ideal" of the ministry, and in successive chapters we are given the Biblical conceptions of The Word, as the Truth of the Apostle, as the Burden of the Prophet, as the Gospel of the Evangelist, as the Wisdom of the Pastor and Teacher. Part III faces the Modern Application, in which stress is laid on the changed conditions, the unchanged obligation, the preparation of the ministry, and the exercise of the vocation. Purposeful preaching has one aim: "that, namely, of the capture of the central citadel of Mansoul, the will. The intellect and the emotions are highways of approach, and both should be employed. The one thing of which we need to be constantly reminding ourselves is that we have never accomplished the real end of preaching until we have reached the will and constrained it toward the choices which are in harmony with the Truth which we declare." In conclusion, he writes: "Service, or ministry, can only be intelligently rendered as the servants or ministers of The Word hold constant converse with Him of whom the Word is the expression, through the Word who is his perfect exegesis. The Word can only be rightly apprehended as the interpretation of the Spirit is sought, and that persistently." This also is the burden of Bishop Leonard's outspoken volume.

The Spirit. The Relation of God and Man, considered from the Standpoint of recent Philosophy and Science. Edited by B. H. STREETER, M.A. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $2.50.

"A FINAL theology means a complete account of the ways of God in relation to the universe and to man. It will not be reached till Nature has yielded up her last secret to science, till the philosopher has attained his goal, and till the Kingdom of God is come." So wrote Canon Streeter in the introduction to the volume of essays entitled Foundations. The successive volumes which he has edited have been influenced by this thought. Foundations treated of some of the fundamental truths of Christianity. Concerning Prayer is a distinctive contribution to this important subject. Immortality was the next in this symposium series, and one to be seriously reckoned with. The latest volume is on The Spirit. What gives such significance to all these discussions is that the writers take note of psychology and philosophy, and are free from dogmatic bias or ecclesiastical prepossession, while intent on a constructive treatment of their several topics. If the volumes are weak in biblical exposition it is because of a desire to direct attention to other phases of thought, which really throw light on the biblical view and strengthen its conclusions. This course is all the more acceptable because the doctrines of grace are set in the larger context of modern life. On no question do we need more

help than on the work of the Holy Spirit. We, therefore, welcome this volume not because we agree with all its conclusions but because it opens up a field of investigation and insight that will deepen our spiritual experience, establish our faith, and extend its influence beyond traditional frontiers. The purpose of these essays is "to put forward a conception of the Spirit of God which is definite but not scholastic, and which is capable of affording an intellectual basis both for a coherent Philosophy of the universe and for a Religion passionate and ethical, mystical and practical." The first essay, by Professor Pringle-Pattison, is short but intensely suggestive. "Immanence and Transcendence" are not exclusive terms. Their synthesis was preeminently realized in the Incarnation. "The immanence of the transcendent, the presence of the infinite in our finite lives," not only provides for the eternal process of the divine creation but also adequately explains the essential nature of man. We cannot go back to the scholastic theology of a former day. Our aspiration must be fixed "upon increase of religious insight rather than upon any repetition of the past." We can go forward only as we recognize the Spirit as "God in action," which means, in the words of A. B. Davidson, that "His nature is conceived not as substance or cause but as moral personal life, in relation to the world and men." This subject is well discussed by Miss Dougall, who points out the relation between nature and the supernatural. "Nature at its highest and best is always the manifestation of God's character as he reveals himself to us, and is also the indication of his will to our further development. It might seem as though there is a tendency to minimize the miraculous, but further thought convinces the reader that the method of this writer really enhances what is truly miraculous by giving it a more exclusive place, in harmony with the thought of the economy rather than the extravagance of God. The test of religious experience is both valid and authoritative, as viewed in its psychological aspects and its manifest benefits in respect of illumination, inspiration, power, and prayer." The subject is further considered by Miss Dougall in a later essay on "The Language of the Soul," with special reference to the Christian Sacraments. Captain Hadfield's remarkable essay on "The Mind and the Brain" in the volume on Immortality is followed by an equally able discussion, in the present volume, on "The Psychology of Power." He illustrates his thesis from his extensive experiments as a neurologist and psychotherapist and points out some of the untapped sources of power at the disposal of every person. This power is psychic rather than physical and the testimony here collected throws unexpected light on the Divine Spirit, who works through us and is the great dynamic of religion. Professor Anderson Scott carries the thought into the distinctively spiritual realm and makes out a strong case in demonstrating that "What Happened at Pentecost" was the emergence of fellowship. "It was a new name for a new thing, community of spirit issuing in community of life: that was the primary result of the coming of the Spirit." This fellowship was the organ of spiritual insight, and it was confirmed by ethical achievements and by the exhibition of gifts and powers. This experience need not be regarded as singular to the

first century. It can be repeated in a modern pentecost if the conditions are met, as is so impressively demonstrated in a recent volume on Fellowship in Thought and Prayer, by Basil Matthews and Harry Bisseker. When we are hearing so much about Christian unity, it is well to remember, as these two writers do, that this achievement is possible only on a spiritual plane, where the practice of unity of spirit and purpose is based on a real experience of Christ. The relation between nature and the supernatural in conduct and teaching is discerningly dealt with by C. W. Emmet in two papers on "The Psychology of Grace: How God Helps," and "The Psychology of Inspiration: How God Teaches." The conclusion of the argument in the first essay is that "grace is the enhancement of personality which is the constant result of the proper relation between the divine and the human spirit." The final test of inspiration is whether the message is true. The inspiration of Christ was characterized by an absence of ecstatic and abnormal features, by the presence of an originality due to unique insight into the deeper values of life, and by his continuous influence as a living spirit in the hearts of those in touch with him. Clutton-Brock is always a stimulating writer. His two papers, on "Spiritual Experience" and on "Spirit and Matter," make a strong plea for the aesthetic in religious worship and living. What he writes from this standpoint is peculiarly suggestive concerning the activities of the Divine Spirit in regions outside those prescribed by theological and ecclesiastical thought. "There is no difference in effect between the spiritual experience of art and the spiritual experience of reality; only art communicates to us a spiritual experience of reality which most of us cannot get from it as surely and intensely as the great artist." But a single quotation hardly conveys the argument which is spread over sixty-three pages of lucid reasoning. Canon Streeter reflects contemporary reaction in his pungent essay on "Christ the Constructive Revolutionary." He makes a necessary distinction between revolution and iconoclasm, and points out that Christ was essentially a conservator, even when he challenged the empty traditionalism of his day." The really live intellectual activity of the present age is not so much conservative as adventurous. Its motto is not learning but research, not acceptance but criticism, not imitation but invention. Experiment and fresh construction are the dominating ideas, not only in natural science and engineering, but in economics, in art, in philosophy, and in political and ethical ideals. Outside organized Christianity the motto of the idealist in every department of life is, 'Behold I make all things new.' What does this mean but that the Spirit of Christ is often to be seen in what is called 'the World' more clearly than in any of those societies which claim to be his 'Church'?" It may not be pleasant to be reminded that "the Church's attitude to truth has been a *moral*, not an intellectual, failure." But just as the church recovered its lost ground in the Protestant Reformation, in the Evangelical Revival and in other reform movements, and promptly adjusted itself to the demands of the new day, so will it happen again. But it must have "the courage to discard what is obsolete and the insight to create what is new," in order that it might offer the needed guidance to a distracted and

disjointed generation. It is in the power of the church to do this, and for its accomplishment we need a deeper belief in the present guidance of the Creative Spirit and a fuller surrender in obedience to what this Spirit is saying to the church of the living God. This volume will greatly aid us in getting our bearings and fulfilling our mission.

Towards Reunion. Being Contributions to Mutual Understanding by Church of England and Free Church Writers. 12mo, pp. xxii+392. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $2.75.

Approaches Toward Church Unity. Edited by Newman Smyth and Williston Walker. 12mo, pp. 170. New Haven: Yale University Press. Price, $1.25.

Pathways to Christian Unity. A Free Church View. 12mo, pp. xi+226. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $2.25.

THESE three volumes crystallize the current sentiment in the churches on the question of unity. Disunited Protestantism is increasingly regarded as a serious obstacle to the progress of the Kingdom of God. One of the difficulties in the way concerns the *modus operandi*, but another that is even more consequential relates to the *modus vivendi*. Far too much attention has been given to the foreground and not enough to the background, and this latter after all is the primary consideration. "Christian unity" has too often been used as a magic phrase without its content being definitely stated. One reason for this is the ecclesiastical complacency and even arrogance in many quarters, due to the characteristic tendency of the ecclesiastical mind to turn back and rely on imitation rather than initiative. Another cause is the failure to have a vision of the church as a whole and its manysided mission to the world instead of an exclusive mission to its own membership. Behind all this is the inadequate recognition of the living illumination of the Holy Spirit, promised by our divine Redeemer to lead us into all truth. The volume edited by Dr. Newman Smyth and Professor Walker is welcome because of the historical material. The writers of these essays are free from the controversial temper. The witness of the New Testament is finely expounded as to the rise and development of Christian institutions which were called forth by the exigencies of the early centuries, not for the sake of permanence but of progress. This conclusion is further emphasized in the essay on "Vital Principles of Church Development," studied from the biological standpoint. "What has been lost among us is not the indwelling life which is the perpetual presence of Christ with his disciples, but our common and compelling consciousness of it, and hence our failures to make it visible to the world." Another statement that deserves consideration has to do with schism. "A separation from church organizations which are no longer needed, or are corrupt, is not of itself schismatic. The wholeness of the church may require it for its survival. But any breach of its outward unity which at the same time violates its invisible unity, is a wrong done to the Holy Spirit of its life. And that is sinful schism." A

good word is spoken for the creeds which are rightly regarded as summaries of the essential Christianity. "How utterly unsatisfying the so-called modern substitutes are for the ancient creed even the most radical of us, the ones least inclined to mediaevalism or even mysticism or symbolism in any form, are the first to admit. Better nothing at all than this parade of up-to-date sentiments which masquerade in the place of a creed; this elimination from the creed of what are felt to be its intolerable parts, leaving only the skeleton to be exhibited before a congregation; this total lack of any appeal to the emotions or spiritual imagination; this unedifying recitation of modern prose in place of the poetry of the ages and of the human heart. These so-called creeds are mere specters of ethical statement with neither outer beauty nor inner substance. They are in effect a summary of opinions rather than a creed." The last three chapters deal with some of the historic documents relating to the notable attempts toward union, beginning with the conference at Thorn, called by Wladislav IV, king of Poland, in 1645, and ending with the Interchurch World Movement, which promises to lift us out of our ecclesiastical ruts, for the sake of the more effective evangelization of the world. The study of these writings and the circumstances which called them forth throws light on the progress of the Christian spirit which, in spite of contrary winds, is more expressive to-day than at any other period in the history of the church. The essays in Toward Reunion are by representatives of the Anglican and the Nonconformist Churches of England. Several of the writers revert to the *fons et origo* of disunion, which is the historic episcopate. As might be expected, the Anglicans maintain their belief in this dogma and show little willingness to concede anything to the Free Churches. The spirit of the writers is, however, conciliatory, and while they are outspoken they seem to be more or less on the defensive. The essay by Forsyth on "Unity and Theology" is in his characteristic vigorous style. He goes to the root of things and declares that the creative source of real unity is the atoning Reconciliation. "We are not vaguely in Christ as a spacious person, but in Christ in His central function, in Christ as the Creator, by redemption, of the Kingdom of God, and of the Church as its trustee. The real unity of the church is the Kingdom of God, founded and set up in the Cross, and living by Christ as its King." This position is maintained, from another viewpoint, by P. Carnegie Simpson in the essay on "Grace in Sacrament." There can be effective intercommunion only as we recognize that the Lord's table is welcome to all his people. Dr. Garvie frankly states that, "to expect a simple submission of Congregationalism and Presbyterianism to Episcopacy, as it now is, is simply to follow a 'will-o'-the-wisp' which will lead to bogs of useless controversy and endanger all reconstruction." Professor Peake points out that "the minister as contrasted with the layman is never in the New Testament styled a priest at all." Canon Burroughs pleads for the principles of spiritual hospitality and common worship. Mr. McCormick urges the need for a conscience with regard to the reunion of the whole of Christendom. All the essays are intensely suggestive, but we cannot help feeling that the Rubicon can never be crossed until the

Anglicans are ready to make concessions, not in the spirit of compromise but of comprehension. In many ways the best book is Pathways to Christian Unity. While the authors represent the Free Church position, they advocate the principle of discrimination between things primary and secondary and interpret the ruling factors of reunion with rare insight. It is a volume of corporate thinking and corporate writing on the part of six men, who speak as one man, although using the editorial "we." The true line of approach, according to the New Testament ideal, is by a deepening of the spiritual life of each Christian, and of the obligation of each one to think in terms of the church as a whole. Unity is "not an external and enforced uniformity of creed and polity, but such a fellowship of the churches as would bring with it a more vital realization of our oneness in Christ and his atoning gospel, such a cooperation in thought and purpose as would give us a concerted policy in confronting a common task, and would provide effective means for expressing our collective will—and all that Christ may be enthroned as King in the life of the nation and of the world." In a generous and magnanimous way we are led to see what are the contributions made by the Free Churches to the Catholic ideal and by Catholicism to the Free Church ideal. The better day will come when these two types seriously resolve to be at once the scholar and the teacher of the other. What is written about the movement toward unity and the way toward union is marked by encouragement and practicability. If a choice were to be made of these three books we would recommend the third, which is candid, considerate, and conclusive, and points with lucid argument the direction to be taken toward purity, peace, and progress, in the name of the Indwelling and Inclusive Christ of our redemption.

The Life and Letters of St. Paul. By the Rev. David Smith, M.A., D.D. 8vo, pp. xv+704. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, cloth, $6 net.

It was with great pleasure that the announcement was received several months ago that the life of the apostle Paul by David Smith would soon be published. Those who have read this author's volume The Days of His Flesh and received a new vision of the life of Jesus Christ know what to expect from this companion volume on the greatest interpreter and foremost advocate of the gospel of world-wide salvation. Just as the previous volume continues to hold the first place among books on its subject, so this second volume will assuredly occupy front rank in the extensive library on the apostle to the Gentiles. The doctrinaire study of St. Paul has done much to paralyze the spiritual effectiveness of his influence. His intrinsic excellence as a leader has often been set aside in favor of theological interests and controversial issues. "Controversy is a foolish and futile employment," writes Dr. Smith, and his purpose in this volume is to recover the Paul of the first century and set him in such a spacious context so that he might speak to our own age with a modern accent. "The figure of the apostle has assumed ever clearer shape in my

mind; his surroundings have fallen into truer perspective; and my narrative depicts him more simply as I have seen him, less confused than it might otherwise have been by multitudinous details and less encumbered by elaborate discussions." It is needless to mention that this is a work of the ripest scholarship, of that mature type which distinguishes between things that differ, and which subordinates speculation to the verified conclusions of induction. Dr. Smith has such a thorough mastery of history and archæology that he pays much attention to the geographer Strabo, to the Naturalis Historia of the younger Pliny, to Chrysostom, to the anonymous author of the Ambrosiaster, to Hugo Grotius, to the Rabbinic scholar Wetstein, and to such moderns as Lightfoot, Blass, and Ramsay, and he takes with the proverbial grain of salt the clever guesses of Renan and Matthew Arnold and the dogmatic prepossessions of the eschatological and apocalyptic school of interpretation represented by Schweitzer and Morgan. This means that we have a balanced discussion of all pertinent questions. The ancient world is brought to our very doors and we can breathe its heavy atmosphere even to the extent of being oppressed by its moral discord, social handicap, and religious upheavals. We hardly know any clearer and saner discussion of "the eschatological frenzy" at Thessalonica, of the teaching concerning Antichrist, of the Judaizing tendencies in Galatia and elsewhere, of the gift of tongues, of Gnosticism and Essenism, of the Greek mysteries. The picturesque descriptions of the cities of Lystra, Troas, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus, Galatia, Rome give an insight into conditions which were faced and overcome by the gospel of the new life. The chapter on "Defection in Galatia" recalls many a situation in modern church life. "It is characteristic of impulsive natures that their generous impulses quickly flag; and so it was with the Galatians. They started bravely on the Christian race, but they soon tired; they were lavish in their generosity to the apostle when he first came among them, but their affection presently cooled and they turned against him; and recently they had evinced their disposition in a somewhat sordid fashion." There is a remarkable illustration of mob psychology in the experience of the apostle at Lystra. When the populace was discouraged from offering worship to Paul and Barnabas, the crowd dispersed crestfallen. "The incident, however, had an untoward result. Enthusiasm gave place to resentment. The protest against idolatry angered the priesthood, and the populace were aggrieved at the expense of their superstitious delusion. The situation was not only discouraging but dangerous. A mere spark would suffice to enkindle a conflagration, and this was supplied when a company of Jews from Antioch and Iconium appeared on the scene. . . . They found Paul discoursing in the marketplace, and recognized him. Their animosity was unabated, and they denounced him as an imposter and asserted that his teaching was 'all lies.' The bystanders were easily roused, and they pelted him with stones. When a similar assault was made upon him in Iconium, he had evaded it; but now he was hemmed in by the crowd and there was no escape. He was struck down and lay senseless, to all appearance dead. It was a lawless outrage, and when the perpetrators saw what they had done and

considered the penal consequences, they took alarm, and in the hope of concealing their crime they dragged away their victim's body and deposited it outside the town and left it there." One explanation of the inveterate enmity shown the apostle by his countrymen, who finally succeeded in having him executed, is given in a single sentence. It refers to his own experience in the days of his persecuting zeal. "A man is never so violent in the assertion of his faith as when he feels it slipping from his grasp; and that was the reason of Saul's 'exceeding madness' against the church." The contentious spirit of the Corinthians is another subject that receives able treatment. The excellent translation into modern English of the letters of Paul is particularly suggestive. In many respects it excels Moffatt's New Translation of the New Testament, and this is high praise. Here are a few verses from Ephesians: "And He it is that 'gave' here Apostles, there Prophets, there Evangelists, there Pastors and Teachers, to knit the saints together for the work of ministration, for the upbuilding of the Body of Christ, until we all of us attain to the unity of the Faith and of the full knowledge of the Son of God, to mature manhood, to the measure of the stature of Christ's 'fulness,' that we may be no longer babes, wave-tossed mariners, carried hither and thither by every wind of the discipline which originates in men's sleight of hand, in trickery for the furtherance of error's wiles; but holding the truth in love, may in every respect grow into Him who is the Head, even Christ." The translation is accompanied by invaluable expositions of the teachings of these epistles which are set in their correct historical context. The Epistle to the Romans is regarded as an encyclical or circular letter and eighty-eight pages are devoted to this authoritative pronouncement of the Christian message. Any one who reads this section will have a deeper understanding of the genius and glory of the gospel of Christ. The discussion of the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles, from the standpoint of vocabulary, throws much light on this debated question. There is a scholarly appendix on "Verbal Peculiarities in the Pauline Letters"; it is a strong argument and will amply repay diligent study. While we are on the subject of the Appendix, it might be said that there are very suggestive dissertations on "Pauline Chronology," "TheSacrament of Baptism," "Paul's Malady," "Luke and Antioch." Every page bristles with foot-notes on questions of exegesis, history, geography, with extensive references to the best literature, and showing a breadth and depth of learning unusual in most biblical scholars. But the dominant purpose of Dr. Smith is to present a reliable portrait of St. Paul as an apostle, a prophet, and a pastor, and here he has succeeded beyond our highest expectations. Another interest of this author may be inferred from a sentence: "Doctrine is valueless unless it issue in holiness; and the doctrine of Justification by Faith is peculiarly liable to ethical perversion." He is always concerned in ethical and religious questions, and no thoughtful and faithful interpreter of St. Paul could really be interested in any other questions. Mention must be made of the concluding chapters which ably reconstruct the closing days of the apostle out of slender material, but in fullest accord with the facts of history. Here and else-

where throughout the volume, Dr. Smith's historical imagination, reenforced by large scholarship, has enabled him to produce a work which, in respect of profound insight, character delineation, accurate description, sympathetic interpretation, is not equaled or surpassed by any other contribution to the understanding of the life of the Roman Empire and of its conspicuous citizen, who styled himself as "Paul, a slave of Jesus Christ, by calling an apostle, set apart to preach God's gospel."

A READING COURSE

Ambassadors of God. By S. Parkes Cadman. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $3.

This volume by Dr. Cadman might be called a word of exhortation in much the same way that the Epistle to the Hebrews was so characterized by its scholarly author. Dr. Cadman has produced several books of distinctive merit. His charming biography of William Owen, a saint of the Methodist household, his masterly essays in criticism on Charles Darwin and Other English Thinkers, and his noteworthy volume on The Three Religious Leaders of Oxford and Their Movements, are favorably known and frequently quoted. He is also recognized by the English-speaking world as a powerful and persuasive personality, perhaps, all things considered, the most versatile and accomplished preacher of our time. His books exhibit erudition, conveyed in a clear and impressive style, which have won for him the approval of expert scholars and ministers alike. We have long desired to know the secret of his power over widely varied audiences. At last we have it revealed in part in his latest book. Dr. Cadman is essentially a historical writer with a luminous faculty for delineating men, movements and events. He is also a philosopher and a theologian, who preserves an admirable equipoise in his discussions of the different schools of thought and utterance which Christian preaching exemplifies. There are a spaciousness of background, a catholicity of outlook, a clearness of prophetic vision, a fervor of apostolic grace, a hospitality of mind and heart, a crystal depth of conviction, which give to this volume a value that places it among the few really genuine books on the princely art of preaching. The nine lectures canvass every important phase of the preacher's calling, and their report is such as to magnify this office at a time when there is a tendency to turn away from it to other more alluring fields of ministerial service. A book on preaching by the premier preacher is certainly to be hailed as an event. It is addressed chiefly to young preachers, but all who have engaged in this exacting business for years will find here much to renew their youth and to revive their spirits. Chapter I, on "The Scriptural Basis of Preaching," finely appraises the work of the great preachers of Bible times. Note the section on the preaching of Jesus and how we are guarded against certain misconceptions of values

which beset Christian thinking and are injurious to Christian preaching. Chapter II, on "Prophets and Preachers of the Christian Church," is a comprehensive survey, with interpretations and characterizations marked by historical insight, a sense of preaching values, a grasp of the fundamentals of the Christian message and a catholicity of conception of the preacher's task. "The inner world of the human heart and conscience, which is infinitely greater than the farthest spaces of the physical universe, has been more profoundly moved toward goodness by Christian preaching than by any other agency of the church." This thesis is expounded and enforced by a clear discussion of the distinctive work of European and American preachers of every denomination, both Catholic and Protestant. The author's conclusion is quite justifiable: "Behind the people you will perceive the publicist; behind the publicist, the political philosopher; behind the political philosopher, the metaphysician; and behind them all inspired seers of Christianity, the sources of your soul's courage and devotion, of new faith, of unfathomed strength, of exhaustless consolation." Dr. Cadman excels in the art of historical and biographical exposition, as may be seen in his discerning estimates of Bernard of Clairvaux, Luther, Wesley, Schleiermacher, Darwin, Marx, Carlyle, Ruskin, Bergson, Eucken, William James, and many others. Since he has a clear conception of the preacher's own vocation, he challenges with ability and lucidity the detractors of the modern pulpit, and he points out, in the chapter on "The Modern Attitude Toward Preaching," that many of the explanations or rather criticisms of pulpit inefficiency and ineffectiveness are both superficial and inadequate. But he is not an *advocatus diaboli*. He recognizes many of the avoidable weaknesses in contemporary preaching, and suggests how they might be overcome. The rival forces of the pulpit which come from science, philosophy, and literature are succinctly and sympathetically diagnosed in the chapter on "Cross Currents which Affect Preaching." A timely and forcible plea is made on behalf of an informed and trained pulpit as the necessary prerequisite to a laity similarly qualified. Thus only could we "save our generation from the folly and loss of religious teaching which more often than not is the more dangerous because of the half truths it embodies." Note what is said about doctrinal preaching as the best antidote against errors that continue to invade the church with an insidious subtlety which is all the more damaging because clothed in pious phrases that disguise paralyzing impieties. A large program is set before the preacher in chapter v, on "Present-Day Intellectualism and Preaching." Nothing smaller can suffice to meet the exigent needs of our times. "To be sure, the beaten paths which great preachers trod are ever before us, and we must follow them as they followed their Lord, though with unequal steps. But if you who enter those paths later than some of us would adorn them with interpretations of the gospel which appeal to your day, you must conquer much that seems foreign to the intention. Buried monuments, dead languages, ancient heresies, non-Christian religions, obsolete and extant philosophies, methods of textual criticism and exegesis, the exhumed and corrected

histories of the church and of nations—all present their endless stores before your bewildering gaze. How then is the student to discriminate between them and select what he needs? Mainly by remembering that the minister's true culture is not conceived in the wits but in the soul." Chapter vi, on "The Nature and Ideals of the Christian Ministry," does not contain counsels of perfection and threadbare advices, but counsels for perfection, which all growing preachers should diligently heed. This is especially true of the beginner, who is easily tempted away from the arduous demands of study to become a purveyor of second-hand messages, lacking in the unction of authority, the conviction of certainty, and the persuasiveness of vitality. "Clergymen who in their willful ignorance of theology, or their devotion to secondary things, turn aside from their main duty as the advocates of Christian ideals, are prone to be busy or bureaucratic or talkative men, but not men apt to learn, to teach, to persuade, to convince others of the need of right relations with God. Their homilies are impotent for want of spiritual gravamen; they are out of touch with the tenets of historic Christianity, subjected to the shiftings and catchwords of the hour, and are neither enlightening nor inspiring, as every such discourse should assuredly be." Two chapters on "Preaching, Its Preparation and Practice," review the urgent demands on the fully equipped preacher, who alone can influence for good the virile people and movements of his time. The comments on the use of the imagination, the literary qualities of sermons, and the gifts which distinguish them evince a reflective capacity not often found in books of this character. The last chapter, on "Preaching and Worship," is of special timeliness and is in itself worth the price of the book. "American churches are not always well advised in their choice of constructive forms of worship. Our ministry is comparatively strong in courage, independence, and other qualities natural to a young and singularly fortunate nation. But our very unconventionality occasionally tempts us to forsake traditions of demonstrated excellence for rash experiments. The clergymen of the older world are in constant contact with the wonders of historic Christianity. They know the actual scenes where prophets have 'hurled tempestuous glories' from their thrones, and have been animated by the nameless influences of an immortal religious past. Herein is the explanation of the good pulpit manners of the best British preachers. They respect the dignified procedure necessary to devotional gatherings, and impart to their ministrations that indefinable attraction of bearing which is to worship what the perfume is to the flower." Few books on preaching consider all the elements of our complex and embarrassing situation in so clear-sighted and forceful a manner, with such intense conviction, directness of purpose, originality of treatment, and Christian optimism concerning the functions, possibilities, and duties of the preacher of the blessed evangel. No lectures on preaching have appeared since those of Henry Ward Beecher which are more worthy of attention. Dr. Cadman's career has been an inspiration to his brethren of every church, even though they can follow him only with unequal steps. This volume has placed us all under obligations to

him. We predict for it a permanent place in the preacher's library for many years to come.

Side Reading

Some of the best books on preaching are mentioned in Dr. Cadman's volume, to which the reader is directed.

For information about books and subjects of interest to preachers, address this department, *Reading Course*, care of the Methodist Review, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Matt S. Hughes.

METHODIST REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1920

BISHOP MATTHEW SIMPSON HUGHES

I COME to the delicate task of representing my brother in these pages with the purpose not to put any special restraint upon my pen. The Gospels of Jesus were written by men who loved him; and their tributes to him are not vitiated, or even discounted, by their affection. Filial biographies are frequent, as Arnold and Moody would testify; and fraternal biographies are not unknown. I suspect that a son would be quite as likely to idealize a father, as a brother would a brother; and yet in both cases the intimacy has its advantages.

Nor shall I seek to force myself out of this estimate of him. We must be somewhat in company in these pages, even as we were much together in life. For fifty years we experienced a growing nearness to each other. Our careers, professionally and geographically, were sent by the divine providence along strangely mutual ways. Save for four years when he was in Minneapolis and I was in New England, our ministries were in close contact. We were ordained together, as deacons, in 1890, in the church at Grinnell, Iowa, of which my father had been pastor for five years, and to which my brother was to be appointed the next day. Within the year he joined me in New England. Then came his four years in Minneapolis, when we saw little of each other. After that I went to Indiana, and he to Kansas City; and, as DePauw University had a considerable alumni constituency in Kansas City, and Greencastle lay on the direct line of travel eastward, the months of our separation were not many. When I went as resident bishop to San Francisco in 1908, he at once came as pastor to Pasadena; and for eight years we were together on the Pacific

coast, with constant meetings. Then came that to me wonderful day at the General Conference at Saratoga Springs, when I had a privilege never before accorded to any man in our Methodist history—of conducting as a bishop a brother as a bishop-elect to the platform. In this last quadrennium of mutual work I was with him several times each year. Considering that we separated in Conference membership at the start of our ministries, our association has been remarkably close. God saw to it that our paths crossed frequently and beautifully, and that is now one cause for my reverent thanksgiving.

I cannot say that we were especially intimate in boyhood. We were almost four years apart in age; had we been either nearer or more distant in years, our fellowship would have been different. I can recall no estrangements; but I traveled so far behind him in studies and pastimes as to forbid intimacies; and yet near enough also to prevent that cordial comradeship that often exists between a big brother and one quite smaller. But in the haze of that dear past some things stand out in my memory.

One of these is my first recollection of him. It is vivid with me still. He came out of the door of the Old North Street parsonage in Wheeling, West Virginia, clad in a new suit. I thought he looked fine. From that day until the end of his life I never saw him when he was not well dressed. In his personal appearance he was always the personification of a pure gospel. Of the three symbols used in the New Testament to designate the fate of the lost—fire, darkness, and filth—he would have feared the last with a great dread. He had unfailing taste in the selection of wearing apparel. Last November our nurse, who, in early days, was a kind of vice-mother to us both, went to heaven. She was a wee Irish woman, Catherine Maloney, afterward Hallett; converted to Protestantism under my father's ministry, and for more than half a century a faithful member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. When my brother, passing through Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, heard that she was dying in a Wheeling hospital, he hastened to her side; and the watchers say that her face, at his coming, spoke the joy that her lips could not utter. She left for me, marked by my name in the diminutive, a package of very old

photographs. One of them was that of my brother, taken when he was about six years of age. It represents him as clad in the rather outlandish juvenile garments of the period—side-buttoned waist, capacious trousers, and in his hand an immense hat. Yet, strangely enough, the boyish picture is utterly graceful. Only a cold review of fashion's eye would pronounce otherwise. That impression was true for his life. Things fitted him—because he himself affected what he wore. Most parsonage children do not like inherited garments. But I confess that I used to "wait" for his habiliments—only to experience a sense of disappointment because they did not "look as well" on me as they did on him. To the very end, when I folded his garments in the Cleveland hotel, his outer "habits," as the old phrase went for clothes, were like the clean, fine habits that he attained in the inner life. Carlyle in his "Sartor Resartus" might have used such a man as an illustration of his picturesque figure of speech.

My other remembrance of him was quite as boyish, but more significant. We were fishing in a small stream, and "fisherman's luck" was with me. I caught several prizes, while he caught none. Even older people cannot always understand the providence of fishers! So the disappointed elder brother seized my tackle and ran with it over the meadows townward. My impulse was to leave his pole-and-hook-and-line; but I picked it from the water and found dangling on it the largest fish I had ever caught up to that time. I waved it victoriously, and my brother returned. I gladly record that he did not make me surrender the prize that I had captured on his equipment. I carried it home as my own trophy. The boy in him prophesied the man. As I shall later show, there was a generous largeness in his viewpoint and administration. I have no remembrance of littleness in his nature or work. His heart was roomy, and his plans were like his heart.

He was born at West Union, West Virginia, on February 2, 1863. It was "ground-hog day." I have not consulted the weather record, but I feel confident that the animal of the tradition saw his shadow cast by a bright sun. He was the first child in that parsonage home. My father's salary was small—$400, I think. West Union was then part of a considerable circuit. We

have never laid much stress on the family tree in our home. Yet I may write it down that ancestry here was good and honorable. The paternal grandparents were of pure Welsh extraction—a part of that stream that was held up in the southern mountains long ago. My father often spoke of his father's honor and his mother's piety. They both, however, sympathized with the Southern cause and were grieved when their oldest son became an abolitionist. That son carried the second generation with him into the Northern camp. The maternal grandparents were of English blood, mostly. Matthew Simpson Hughes was named jointly for the great bishop and for the maternal grandfather. I have heard more than one man say that Grandfather Matthew Holt was as intelligent a layman, in Methodist history, doctrine, and polity, as could be found in the nation. He was evidently a gentleman of the old school, touched with dignity and a rather fine severity. Portraits of him show a remarkable head and a strong face. Of the farther reaches of ancestry I know little; yet the little gives no reason for thinking that a strict eugenist would have regarded my brother as improperly born. In my opinion, my father had the marks of greatness, in appearance, in dignity of mien, in balance of judgment, in power of logic, in restraint of emotion, in force of conviction. He had the instincts of an aristocrat and the principles of a democrat; and all his life long an unconscious struggle between the two persisted within him. My mother's mind was more agile and more playful. Through their long life together they supplemented each other in a marked way. It was interesting to see their characteristics reappearing in their oldest child.

Our home was never rich nor elegant. In West Virginia it was scattered along the years of my brother's youth in ten different houses, none of them having the so-called "modern conveniences." The charges were of all grades—country circuits, large county seats, big cities, and a presiding elder's district with scarcely a mile of railroad in its borders. But my father and mother were enamored of the ministry; and I thank God that they were never disillusioned. I am confident that they had no better day than when their third son became a preacher, save only that still better day when their first son gave them double happiness by joining the

third. Our youth knew some distasteful restraints; for it was not always pleasant to be told to do, or not to do, things because we were a preacher's sons. Yet, advancing years made us more and more grateful for a puritanical rearing; and it has always been a temptation for both of us to give contempt to grown-up people who slander pious parents—so-called grown-ups who have increased by the calendar but not by the spirit. When the day of his final decision for his career came, my brother had no hindering remembrances from the parsonage life of his boyhood.

He would have referred to his education as a "medley"—public schools until he was sixteen; Linsley Institute, Wheeling, for two years; and then West Virginia University. In the university he went through the freshman year regularly; then he studied medicine for a few months, and after that law. Evidently he did not yet see the goal of his life. With his father's removal to Parkersburg, West Virginia, he became city editor of the Parkersburg Daily Journal, under Editor White, afterward Governor of the State. In 1884, when he had but arrived at voting age, he "stumped" the State for the Republican party, debating in one or two instances with experienced speakers and winning repute as a keen platformer, with a disconcerting gift of wit and sarcasm. There was likewise a brief interval when he devoted himself to insurance. All this was his educational equipment for his life work—a "medley" in types of schools and kinds of study; but one who knows the ministry may detect a unity of preparation in it all. Law, medicine, newspaper-writing, insurance—are they not all curricula for the ministry? Repeatedly in his sermons and addresses I saw the tokens of that broad education.

He was not athletic, though deeply interested in outdoor sports as a spectator. So far as I recall, he played neither baseball nor football. But he was in all other college activities—debate, declamation, dramatics, essay-writing. In the last named he won the premier honor of the whole university course. In those days a regents' prize of money was given for the best essay on a specific subject, the production to be elaborate and to be presented under a pseudonym. Matthew Simpson entered the contest, though but a freshman, and won a unanimous decision against the competing

juniors and seniors. I can well recall my vast pride when he read his essay at commencement time. I was but fifteen, and the production impressed me like a miracle.

At the university and in the later years of his newspaper work, he was much preferred in society. Handsome, witty, musical, polished in his manners, he was lured by the so-called higher social circles. He met in excess the temptation of the newspaper reporter, and for the time he drifted from the puritan anchorage. His parents moved to Iowa, and thus another tie to that good past was loosened. But the evangel only waited for its chance. God was preparing a Damascus road.

The crisis came in the summer of 1887. Father was invited to preach daily at the Loveland Camp Meeting in Ohio—Dr. I. W. Joyce, afterward bishop, and the Reverend Sam Small to be his partners on the program. He wrote to Matt S., asking if he would spend a few days at Loveland, if the invitation to preach there were accepted. The affirmative response came. In our parsonage household we entered into a covenant of daily prayer, both that the son and brother might come, and that, coming, he might likewise come to Christ. Matt S. always testified that his father's life was his resistless call, but one of the immediate influences was the public and private preaching of Sam W. Small, who, having been a newspaper man himself, quickly found a sympathetic approach to the younger man's heart. For many years Matt kept in his Bible the note that Sam Small wrote to him on the morning when the great decision was made. We may well wonder whether Mr. Small ever did a greater day's work than that. Duly my brother presented himself at the altar, and the "great transaction" came by God's forgiving grace. Of the emotional features of the experience I know nothing. But I do know that the old words "radical," "powerful," "glorious" are none too strong for the characterization. Jacob became Israel. A great prince was added to the royal household.

The outer changes were immediate and sweeping. Converted on Tuesday, he tried to preach his first sermon in a nearby town on the next Sunday morning. In a month from that day he was traveling the Ewart Circuit in the Iowa Conference. I can

never forget his home-coming—the solemn and tearful joy of it all. He went back to Parkersburg, West Virginia, closed his affairs there, and shut up all avenues of return to the former life. He had dreaded the meeting of his old friends, but let it be said to the credit of human nature that the most careless and worldly greeted him with encouragement and were glad for his new experience and purpose. He always mentioned with especial gratitude a Parkersburg lawyer, Mr. Charles Caldwell, a hearty and popular man of more than local prominence, who, though not himself a Christian, was especially sympathetic with Matt's change of heart and plan. Afterward, Mr. Caldwell was converted and became a local preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Years afterward the Honorable Charles W. Smith, a Congressman from West Virginia, said to me, "It was a wonderful thing that happened to Matt at that Ohio camp meeting!" Even so.

For I do now declare that I have known no greater change in heart, purpose, and plan. A new man moved into a new world. In all matters that teach the essence of life I have only good memories of him after that big spiritual event. I never heard from his lips an unclean word; nor did I ever see the slightest attitude toward woman-kind that did not stand utterly for spiritual gallantry. I am not vexed by recalling any false and deceitful relations to life. There was in him almost an extreme of sincerity. He, himself, felt that he yielded to needless sarcasm occasionally. He confessed to me once that the very agreeable people were his great trial; and concerning one excessively pleasant man he said, "Nobody can be as nice as that and be perfectly genuine." In the petty sense he had no diplomacy; but he did have a keen insight into human nature. In many cases his judgment of men, apparently suspicious and harsh at the time, was justified by later facts. I have known no man who had less "politics" in his nature. He was sent to four General Conferences, each time as the head of his delegation, and each time by a vote that indicated a growing strength as the members of two Conferences came to know him more fully. In all his peculiar relations to General Conference elections I never knew him to do a thing that would not stand earthly publicity and the full light of the judgment morning.

Perhaps, I may well set down here an account of our own personal relations in regard to the episcopacy. When discussion of my name in that connection began in 1907, I simply did not take it seriously. Prior to the meeting of the General Conference in 1908, however, letters and conversations made me aware that both my brother and myself would receive votes for the office. Each was willing to withdraw, but neither was willing that the other should withdraw. So in the only conversation that we had about the matter, we agreed that the one with the smaller vote on the first ballot would request that he be no further considered. When that ballot was announced, my older brother went to the tribune, and with a smile withdrew his name. For eight years I was in the episcopal office, with the scarcely comfortable consciousness that my being there meant his not being there. His own attitude was always generous and large. When a delegate remarked to him at the close of the Minneapolis General Conference that the failure to elect him was not a personal reflection, but due solely to the "brother-argument," he gave a laughing reply—"I judge that I would have a better chance for election if my brother were in the penitentiary instead of in the episcopacy"—a reply that was in itself a defeat of the superficial reason!

For the "brother-argument" in one form was unworthy. A fairly intelligent minister revealed himself in the statement that "the great Methodist Episcopal Church was not so poor in episcopal material as to be compelled to elect two sons of the same mother as Bishops." In that form the argument was little and worthy of contempt. In its other form it was not valid. My brother and I were less alike in our views and temperaments than were several other pairs of men already in the Board of Bishops. Besides, he was amazingly independent and about the last man to indulge in fraternal collusion. So far as I know, the nearly four years that we had together as Bishops never brought a single instance of embarrassment or of restricted freedom. But the "brother-argument" was not a wall of stone that could be battered down by heavy reasons; it was a wall of mist that could be dissipated only by sunshine! And the sunshine had an eight years' task! One cannot estimate joy by number or quantity; but I record it here

that the moment when I led my brother as a Bishop-elect to the Saratoga Springs platform was a far more joyful one than that wherein I was myself taken to the platform at Baltimore. At a reception in Los Angeles, when I was to go to Boston and my brother to Portland, Oregon, I said, jokingly—"I was converted before my brother was. I entered the ministry and joined a Conference before he did. I was elected to the episcopacy before he was elected. If it happens that I precede him to heaven, I trust that no foolish angel will object to his coming in on the ground that I am already there." The playful remark has had its reversal. He has gone before me this time. Some one at a General Conference started a biblical illustration—that there were two sets of brothers among the twelve chosen by Christ! At this late time I may express the conviction that my brother's election was a Christian thing, and the other conviction that, in the land to which he has gone and to which I hasten, our fraternal relation will not shut either of us out of any counsels or labors for the Eternal Kingdom.

He came to speedy power as a preacher—but not with unnatural suddenness. I heard him preach his second sermon, and the second sermon is usually more difficult than the first! I took him up to my little church in Madison Township, north of Brooklyn, Iowa. He chose as his text that Old Testament saying about the "fountain" opened for "sin and uncleanness." He was smitten with fright, and in ten minutes he was headed for humiliation and failure. Then he wisely turned for refuge to his recent experience of conversion and told the great story with simplicity and feeling. This changed defeat into victory, and my people went homeward over the prairies under the thrill of the human evidence of a redeeming gospel. About ten months later I heard him preach again—this time on Isaiah's words, "My thoughts are not your thoughts; neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord." It is no mere brotherly exaggeration when I declare that the sermon —in clearness of thought, in forcefulness of diction, in persuasiveness of method, and in completeness of appeal to mind and heart—stands among the five greatest pulpit utterances that mine ears have heard. Sitting in that tiny country meeting-house I simply knew

that, if he lived, he was destined to be one of the mighty preachers of the church.

I have never known a more diligent student. From the beginning of his ministry he fairly toiled in preparation. He read, read, read. He wrote, wrote, wrote. He had no verbal memory, but he had a memory for ideas; and he followed the order of a manuscript, but not its wording, with wondrous accuracy. His library was immense, and good. He haunted second-hand book stores in big cities and gathered treasures for his shelves. In many matters he was not systematic—but in the use of his books and the arrangement of his sermon material he was order itself. He spent too much time in his study, and I fear that he there exhausted the physical reserves that he needed to carry him over crises. Nor did he have enough of the rest that some men get from playfulness. He had to be lured from his professional work. His desk was his delight; his pen was a pastime; his books were like relatives and friends.

He had the reserve that so often marks great natures. Lyman Abbott says that, all appearances to the contrary, Beecher had whole areas of reserve in his soul. Phillips Brooks always had difficulty in exhibiting his heart. It was like this with my brother. They called him "Matt" familiarly; and he adopted the abbreviation in his signature. Yet that familiar form of greeting did not quite represent the deeper fact. He really lived much to himself. There was in him a certain shyness, inherited from his mother. More than once I have seen his affection peeping out rather timidly. Several times I saw him looking with fond pride upon a photograph of his daughter, which I found opened up in his satchel after his death; yet I doubt if he could easily have shown his proud affection to her. Once I was with him when he received a fine school report of his little son and namesake. He mentioned it to me with a quiet gladness, and thereafter repeatedly I saw him taking it from his pocket and re-reading it with a grateful smile. He revealed himself more in his letters. When the doctor wrote him that an incurable malady had laid hold of our splendid father, he wrote me saying, "It is not possible, as yet, for me to think of Father as being mortally stricken, he has always been so large a part of the existing

order of my life. Of course, I knew that his strong and serene old age could not last forever; but I know nothing of a world without his presence. I am sorry to send you such news, but I am glad to have you to share this great burden." Then he signed himself a little bit more intimately than was his wont, as if he would come a little closer to his companion in sorrow.

In his sermons, also, he frequently practiced the open heart. He did with congregations what he found it difficult to do with individuals. It was as if it required the pull of many souls to overcome his reserve, as if the clamorous sorrow of a crowd acted upon him resistlessly. In the first few years of his ministry, when he was seriously overworking at his studies, he had to check the emotion of his public work. Yet to the last, nothing more surely brought his soul to the front than any tale of suffering or sorrow. He trod the wine-press alone, and still he always sought others that they might not do the same. When he presided over the Iowa Conference at Bloomfield in 1918, he went several times to his father's grave—alone, that in the solitude he might bring his tribute of reverent sorrow and pride. If ever this reserve went too far, it is still true that it had its meaning for his ministry, since it sent him away from social fussiness and led him to that quiet brooding that often explains great preaching.

There was likewise a largeness in his nature that inevitably worked into his sermons and administrations. Details were hard for him, if he could not see that they were nearly related to something sizable. He could not easily be an errand-boy, unless the package he carried were valuable or the message significant. I cannot write of his Minneapolis or Kansas City pastorates, but where I personally knew his work it took on breadth and sweep. Big men listened to him, and big men did big things at his call. He said to every place he occupied, "Be enlarged," and the place answered by extending its borders. On Ewart Circuit he lifted every country church into strength and took the biggest farmers and the brightest teachers as captives of Christ. At Malcom he added a country-point as the result of a school-house revival, and built a church that still does good work in the fine rural section. At Grinnell he compelled the attention of professors and collegians

and carried the great work of his father to greater greatness. At Portland, Maine, he saved Pine Street, the neighboring church, by declining to be a party to its disintegration and by preaching there on the afternoons of many successive Sundays; while the Maine and East Maine Conferences show in their minutes each year that the J. S. Ricker bequests, secured by his influence from a Congregational layman, are still the largest asset for the retired ministers of two plucky bodies. At Pasadena he made his great church missionary society of a rapidly growing city; refused to feed its roll with the names of people who by right belonged to the smaller neighboring churches; and did as constructive a piece of church extension as I have ever witnessed, expending far more money on that work than he spent within the life of his own church. True to his word, God blessed the minister and the society with stronger life, and gave to the candlestick on the altar an ever brighter glow. I cannot write of his episcopal work in these last four years; but, basing my prediction upon his record of achievement, I make confident prophecy that the next quarter of a century will reveal the large wisdom of his plans, and that the Great Northwest will long feel the impulse of his brief episcopate.

He was, also, an exemplar of a spiritual gospel—not of the kind condemned by Mr. Wesley in his reference to the "pert, self-sufficient animal" who "bawled out something about the blood," but rather of the kind that believes that there is none other name. His own sudden and wonderful conversion foreordained him to that emphasis. Few pastors were so often invited to the meetings of local labor organizations, and few could speak to them so convincingly, yet I fear that he had too little patience and too much scorn for the radical Christian socialist. He regarded him as an applier of blistering, but ineffective, poultices—a sort of clumsy tinker on the outside of life. He himself had become good in his social relations by getting a good heart from God; and his experience led him to what many would regard as an extreme Christian individualism. All things had been made new for him in Christ; why not for society? And I, for one, expect that the final solution for our social problem will come only when the Christian individualist and the Christian socialist combine their emphases for the

saving of the world. If this glorious double-advocate arrives in one person, then a thousand welcomes to the leader! But my brother had no use for the man who edged toward revolution. His Americanism, as well as his Christianity, made him regard such an one as a menace to the republic of Washington and the republic of God. He wanted the great changes to come by a real evolution, out of the deeper suffrages of life under the touch of a redeeming Lord. He felt that a superficial sociology was the inevitable result of a superficial religion, and that when men really looked up into the face of the Heavenly Father they would be obliged to look around and see the faces of brothers and sisters. He had little confidence in shallow men and pseudo-brotherhoods that did not know the God and Father of Jesus Christ.

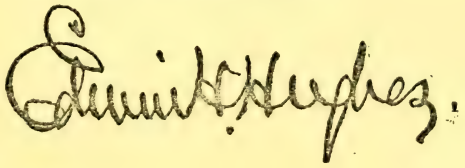
In 1888, at the end of his first ministerial year, he married Miss Harriet Frances Wheeler, a lady of culture, highly gifted in music, and a constant helper in all his aspirations and achievements. As the three children, Blakeney, Esther, and Matthew Simpson, Junior, came into the home, his preaching came more and more to the domestic emphasis. He dwelt seldom on Paul's figure of the Roman court-room, and frequently on Christ's figure of the family. His fatherhood made him know the Father better. If you would read a classic in paternity, turn to his volume and find the sermon on "The Mission of the Little Child." Thus his sociology became that of the household of God.

For thirty years he stood in the pulpits of Methodism, an increasing wonder to those who heard him oftenest. He consecrated a fine presence, a musical voice, an alert mind, a throbbing heart to the spiritual evangel. For four years he gave himself after the same plan and with the same ardor to his episcopal labors —answering calls that he should have refused, going out into the rain and cold and darkness when, as I fear, a fluttering heart and a smothered waking from diminished sleep should have warned him to rest. But the work of God enticed him; and the soul of energy did not allow the failing body any place of earthly respite.

Then came the end. Another of my boyish memories offers a peculiar coincidence. Bishop Edward Thomson died in the McLure House at Wheeling, West Virginia. Matt S. was not quite eight

and I not quite four. Yet, as in a dim and misty past, I see the grief in our parsonage home, and my father going quickly here and there to do his part in tribute to a great and good man. I have, too, an indistinct memory of that father taking his oldest son by the hand and leading him away to the services in honor of the dead Bishop. How little they could have known that about a half century later another Bishop should die in a city hotel—and he the boy with the wondering and tear-dimmed eyes! Between those episcopal funerals there are records of grace and glory written in the shining pages of the Book of Life. Preacher father and preacher son have both finished their courses in peace, and their crowning days were not far apart, as we count time. Sometimes I say to myself, "O brother of mine, why did you not stop when that wonderful voice grew husky and your steps dragged on the way to the pulpit?" But I know well his thought—that he could meet his engagements, as he had said, and then go West and Homeward! So, indeed, he did. At Easter Day-break he pillowed his face on his hand and slept himself out upon a journey that ended in the wakeful surprise of heaven. God is good, and so is His will!

For many years it has been the custom of this writer, on entering the pulpit, to put up a prayer for his preacher father and preacher brother, both perhaps entering their pulpits in that very hour. That filial and brotherly habit abides. I entertain no conscious heresy concerning the other life. They two do not need my prayers that they may be saved. But I do think that to the last this preacher son and preacher brother will keep up that pulpit prayer—that they two may serve God gloriously day and night in the holy temple! And that pulpit prayer will always issue into a pulpit thanksgiving that they two were mine, and are mine, and that by the unbreakable pledge of the Strong Son of God we shall be partners forever in the Gospel of Everlasting Life!



THE PLACE OF THE WILL IN RELIGION

Regarding religion superficially, one is impressed with the pervasiveness and significance of the emotional elements. Feeling seems to be the very essence of religion. Fear, reverence, awe, inner exaltation, self-abasement, inspiration, love, joy, peace, are the terms that express religious states; and they are all feeling-tones of the inner life. When we refer to religion as experience, we generally have in mind an emotional state. Hence it is not surprising that many have defined religion by its affective characteristics. Yet age-long emphasis upon orthodoxy and the traditional standards indicates that not a few have found the deeper sources of religion in intellectual assent. Religion for them is religious belief. Modern psychology, however, agrees with historical study of religions in showing that religion is in reality the expression of man's active nature. But when psychologists come to explain what they mean by our active nature, some of them (especially the structural and behaviorist type) are hazy and indefinite, because they have no adequate conception of volition.

It is my purpose in this paper, first, to point out the limitations of a scientific psychology of religion, then to consider the will as central in the religious life, and finally to indicate some practical bearings of this view.

Psychology speaks with authority whenever the facts of consciousness can be accurately studied. Nowhere is it more at home than in the field of religious phenomena. The contributions already made by Ames, Coe, Leuba, and Pratt—not to go beyond our own land—merit careful study by all who would make religion the power it should be in the world. Structural and behaviorist psychology are naturally less fruitful for an understanding of religion than functional psychology. The first analyzes mental states as if they were atomic in structure; the second treats them as on the same plane with physical processes, that is, as externally determined and devoid of meaning. Only functional psychology can recognize meanings and the part they play in the mental life.

Those who are committed to scientific analysis as the proper task of the psychologist have a strong bias toward treating the will as a collective term for the various forms of conscious activity. When the activity is unconscious, that is, merely organic, it is said to be reflex, instinctive, impulsive. Just what being "conscious" adds to instinctive behavior, the analysts have difficulty in making out. Some deny that it means anything at all. Others consider consciousness a diffused influence that gives a distinctive character to the reactions. Still others advance the novel conception that consciousness is an objective, external relation, of the same general nature as the relations that subsist in the outer world. But in all these views consciousness, so far as it is subjective at all, attaches only to the separate states, and hence cannot be supposed to constitute these states expressions of a unitary will. Unless, however, a unitary will is recognized, nothing is gained by saying that religion is a volitional activity or that it has a volitional aspect. If the will is thought as anything whatever, it must be accredited with maintaining a unity throughout its manifold activities. In short, it must be self-directive and express intelligent purpose. One of the most instructive and sobering chapters in the history of reflective thought is that which recounts the futile efforts to escape this conclusion—efforts to recognize volitional activity while its essential nature is denied.

Why is it so difficult for psychology to recognize the will as a creative power, rather than as a mere succession of activities in which nothing remains long enough to be active? The reason is found in the requisite conformity to the natural science method. The distinctive task of the natural sciences is to analyze and correlate phenomena. Hence in all strictness they can deal only with processes. Every entity that is postulated, whether atom, electron, self or will, soon becomes a center of controversy, and turns out in the end to be but a name for a series of problems. While the scientific method of analysis and synthesis is well adapted to the inorganic, it is clearly inadequate in the field of the biologic sciences. Here the phenomena of life present serious difficulties. The biologist, for instance, can hardly be a thoroughgoing scientist unless he is willing to limit the range of his investigations. If

he tries consistently to apply the mechanical scheme on which the natural sciences are based, he must set aside most of the pressing questions concerning life itself. If on the other hand he turns to vitalism, he appeals to a principle that is of questionable value for his explanations and has little standing in philosophy. The embarrassment is even greater in the treatment of psychic life. So long as the psychologist confines his study to such processes as sensations, feelings and elementary intellections, he gets along very well; but he can do nothing at all with volition, except to treat it as if it were something else. This inability of the analytical or structural psychologist to recognize real volition and its implications is one reason why religious psychology has yielded so much less insight than had been expected. The study has been strong in the analysis of religious manifestations, both individual and institutional; it has exhibited with convincing clearness the psychic elements involved, and has traced the historic development of religion from lower to higher forms; but it has signally failed to deal adequately with questions of validity. These questions reach out beyond the domain of natural science; for religion has to do primarily not with processes, but with intelligences. Science may describe the manifestations, may estimate the social and economic effects, but cannot penetrate either to the inner needs of the worshiper or to the nature and reality of the object worshiped. Everything in religion that lies deeper than mere manifestation—that is, all that concerns meanings, purposes and creative activity of selves—is extra-scientific. Yet it is presumably not outside the interests of the scientist as a man—and "there's the rub." The scientist is often tempted to pass judgment on these questions as one having authority. Yet until the self can be identified with its effects and God with his works, science, as such, must refrain from dealing with ultimate grounds of validity in religion. Hence a scientist who refuses to recognize the supernatural as within his field of investigation is simply consistent. One who appreciates this can read with equanimity and profit the growing literature on the psychology of religion. It gives us a mass of significant data, for the interpretation of which we turn to philosophy with its criteria of validity. The very limitation of

science makes more noteworthy the abundant evidence that religion is essentially an expression of man's conative nature, that feeling and intellect are subordinate to what we must call volition. This insight is not new. Bible students find it in the teachings of the Master, and religious workers have long acted upon it more or less consciously. But now it is rediscovered by science.

It is interesting to see how this new emphasis upon the primacy of man's active nature in religion has not only stimulated the study of religious phenomena, but has changed to some extent the attitude of the intellectuals. Not long ago many affected to despise religion as something essentially outgrown. A self-sufficient skepticism apparently put religion on the defensive. But now anthropologist, biologist, psychologist, and sociologist join with the philosopher and theologian in acknowledging that religion is a fundamental human need, for which there is no substitute. Man is normally religious. The right to doubt doctrines is not to be construed as a right to live without religion. Doubts are intellectual, and can be decisively met only by satisfying the intellect. But the intellect is simply the self trying to find its way, analyzing, building concepts, formulating laws—all in the interest of its needs; and its deepest need is religion. So long as intellect was exalted at the expense of the will, religion might seem to be a mere solace for the weak and the ignorant, an aberration of the emotional life, or a temporary stage in human development. When, however, the depths were sounded and everywhere the will was found active, religion came to its own as a fundamental expression of human nature.

But what is the will? It is beyond definition because it is not a concept. We know it by what it does. Volitional activity evidently includes all the propulsive forces of our sub-conscious life as well as the complete enginery of intelligent choice. Through the control of attention and interest it estimates values, decides which value to seek, and carries out purposes. In short, the will is the self in its appraising, organizing, creative activity. And the self is essentially creative. It makes itself in constituting its world, and it does this by a continuous act of will. It introduces order into the chaos (the "buzzing confusion," as James calls it)

of its experiences by selecting and ignoring in accordance with its own interests. The will is our only known principle of organization.

With this understanding of what the will is, the inner life of religion appears as will rather than feeling or intellect. Its essence is not belief, though belief is involved; nor is it an emotional state, though without emotion there can be no religion. It is primarily an act of self-assertion, a gathering up of our latent powers in trying to realize for ourselves our relation to the Source of all being. A non-religious life has in it less drive, less concentration, less creative power.

Religion as thus conceived is integrating in its effect. It intensifies the self as over against the self's experiences. At the same time it makes more real the selfhood of Him who encompasses and controls all things. Religion centralizes, makes for simplicity and unity, whereas ordinary experiences tend to distract and scatter. Hence those who give themselves up to the details of life are prone to find their natures less responsive to the religious appeal. Religion is possible only as the distracting multiplicity of life is in a measure dominated. The more varied and manifold one's experiences, the more difficult this domination. Ignorant and simple-minded people seem to believe and worship with little effort. Primitive man makes every act an expression of his religion. Not so, comparatively speaking, the highly developed man of affairs. He is apt to be fascinated by life's complexity and variety, the currents and cross currents, the ceaseless change. He finds it a great effort to rise above this alluring multiplicity. This is the half truth in the fling of the freethinker that ignorance is the mother of religion. Some well-meaning Christians, vaguely realizing the difficulty, have been known to take a stand against higher education as conducive to skepticism and irreligion. Others, less extreme, have appealed to authority and magnified faith as a unique source of religious knowledge. But the real difficulty is often a defective will. The student may lack the power of self-assertion. Failing to rise above his learning, he becomes entangled in the very manifoldness of his facts and theories. He is not quite master of his possessions. The man

who is a mere scholar is indeed a pathetic figure, but the scholar who dominates his learning is a prince among men. The one, surrounded by the evidences of religion, fails to find it; the other makes religion the pulse-beat of a full, rich life.

But what in particular does the will do in the field of religion? Rather, we might ask, what does it not do? It makes real to itself God's character and presence, it worships and serves, conquers doubts, attains to inspirations, develops insights, builds character, determines destiny. As soon as the growing self feels a vague restlessness and undefined longing for the ideal and spiritual—a state common to normal childhood and youth—the will seeks what can satisfy, and if properly guided by persons of larger experience, will lay hold of religion. When thought life becomes more mature, the will transforms the thought Absolute into a personal Intelligence, and comprehends the world as God's workmanship. It makes the moral order an expression of God's holy will, and turns all the experiences of life into opportunities for service and communion.

Our idea of God is modified as our outlook changes, and at every stage that idea is the creation of our will. There are those who flaunt this obvious fact as derogatory to religion. They flippantly declare that the devotee first constructs for himself a god, then falls down and worships it. They conclude as a matter of course that all worship is idolatry. But this is manifestly shortsighted. Our entire world of experience, the sky above and the earth beneath, is in the same sense our own construction. Our thought of the external object is the objective reality itself, if it meets the tests of experience. Not only do we form for ourselves the object of worship, but we select the evidence that validates it, and determine how far we shall go in applying our tests. Presumably all possible experience is capable of yielding evidence of one sort or another. But passing over most of this, we select what seems to us pertinent to the case in hand. This is clearly throughout volitional in character. While this procedure has its dangers, as is shown in the history of the church by the dreary controversies over questions of orthodoxy, it is of profound significance for the development of the religious life.

A young man comes to maturity with religious ideas fitted to the needs of boyhood and youth. As elsewhere, so in religion, he must put away childish things. He must adjust his views to the larger outlook. This necessity is universal and ever present. By a continuous act of will we must take up into our God-idea our new experiences and deeper findings of reflection. If a man at any period of his life allows his idea of God to become fixed, he not only cheats himself of a priceless increment to his spiritual life, but soon becomes a victim of inner disharmony and unrest. Moreover his conception, ceasing to grow, loses steadily in vitality. The trouble lies in the will. Constant effort is required to keep our controlling religious conceptions from ossifying.

Not only in the formation of our God-idea, but in every expression of the religious life, the will is central. When we worship, we withdraw ourselves from the insistent influence of our surroundings, and consciously set before ourselves as a present reality the ideal of the Holy One. Then in the midst of heart-searchings, we dedicate ourselves to him. In this act of consecration and communion, we experience a peace that comes of itself, as the living waters from a spring; for our active volitional nature has found characteristic expression and has felt the satisfying response. The Kingdom of God is a kingdom of wills in training for their great destiny. "Our wills are ours to make them Thine." To do God's will involves complete self-mastery, the subjection of every wayward impulse, the development of utmost power and efficiency. It is hardly too much to say that the vital element of religion is right willing. "Religion," says Hocking, "exists applied."

The effect of relegating the will to a subordinate place in religion is a progressive devitalization of the religious life. Such devitalization may appear in different forms, according as the emphasis is placed upon the intellectual or the emotional element. Intellectualism in religion tends to a spiritually impotent orthodoxy. Since thoroughgoing uniformity of belief is in the nature of the case impossible, intellectualism can hardly fail to issue in division or self-deception. If the questions raised by intellectualism are taken seriously, division in the church in-

evitably results. If they are not, uniformity may seem to be attained through subscription to a creed, but such uniformity is only apparent. Even though thoughtful men generally acknowledge this, the lapse into intellectualism is so easy, so covert, and so satisfying to spiritual pride, that in all denominations we find well-meaning steadiers of the ark who magnify uniformity of belief as the one thing needful.

When on the other hand the first place in the religious life is given to the emotions, characteristic aberrations result according to the nature and training of the individual. It is notorious that practically every moral quality, from exalted self-sacrifice and loyalty down to the basest selfishness, deceit, cruelty, and uncleanness, may be found combined with emotional piety. Persons with a strong emotional bent sometimes come gradually to identify religion with a state of feeling. The more this tendency develops, the less regard is paid to morals. Emotion by itself is always and only selfish. It exalts the particular state of the individual. Hence religious emotion becomes less and less religious as it becomes more and more emotional. This explains in part the shocking revelations of moral delinquency in some men who have professed unusual sanctity. They were not necessarily monumental hypocrites; they may merely have had a distorted conception of what constitutes religion. Emotionalism not only misrepresents the true nature of religion and develops many abnormalities; it is weak and helpless to a degree not always appreciated. The universe is manifestly constructed for the worker, and contains little for the emotionalist. He gets hard knocks at every turn. His feelings are flouted, discounted, ignored. For him the world is out of joint. When in the interest of his religion he withdraws from the world to nurse and foster his piety, he escapes the world's buffetings only to shrivel up in character. He is, moreover, relentlessly assailed by a swarm of warring elements in his own nature. When emotional depression comes, as it must, doubts and discouragements arise, against which he has no effective weapon.

Neither intellectualism, then, nor emotionalism in religion is satisfactory. Intellectualism, on the one hand, over-emphasizes

creedal assent, minimizes religious experience, develops a cold and unsympathetic exclusiveness, and issues in various forms of Pharisaism. Emotionalism, on the other hand, is essentially weak and vacillating, and develops a subtle form of selfishness, the more baneful because masquerading as holiness.

In contrast with these distortions is the type of religious life that results from the enthronement of the will. In this type, the only exaggeration likely to show itself is an excessive zeal in good works. The emotions cannot be excluded. They accompany and sweeten the deed; they overflow in heightened interest and sympathy; they mount up into a great joy. But they are held in leash. The intellect likewise plays its part. It furnishes the framework and articulation of religious experience. Being the servant of the will, it constructs whatever is needful to guide and protect the active nature in realizing itself. All degrees of emotion and all ranges of intellectual activity are compatible with the religion of the good will, that is, all degrees and ranges consistent with the will's supremacy. Every interest is safeguarded and fostered. The inner life unfolds with perfect naturalness. Spiritual insight becomes richer and deeper. The way grows brighter unto the end.

As regards the practical bearings, it may be interesting to consider briefly the initial crisis known as conversion, and then the supreme religious exercise—prayer or worship. First, let us glance at the fine art of persuading men to become Christians. How shall we bring about the decision? The trained evangelist is ready with his carefully elaborated method. He would appeal with the maximum of dramatic power to certain emotions, and when he has sufficiently aroused his hearers, would call for an immediate expression from them. The obvious and oft-repeated criticism of emotionally intense revivals is that the conditions they create are unfavorable to a well-pondered decision. The will is forced rather than strengthened; the decision is, so to speak, imparted by the evangelist, and is not really a free expression of the convert's deepest self. The whirlwind evangelist pitches the convert into the church, and challenges the pastor and people to make him a Christian. Since many of the conditions,

such as the willingness of the candidate and the active sympathy of the church, are usually favorable to this achievement, the results are often surprisingly wholesome and of lasting value. But the reactions, the struggle, the disillusionment that follow may sometimes prove too much for the unprepared and not altogether voluntary covenanter. Methodism, the denomination which has, perhaps, gained most from revivals, and indeed developed a kind of virtuosity in that field, has for a generation or more been gradually shifting the emphasis from the emotional impulsions to the less intense but more comprehensive and permanent motives. Revivals have their place in the life of the church, but should have organic relation thereto. Preparation should precede and conservation follow. Outside helpers may sometimes be desirable; but pastor and church members, going about their Father's business with united zeal, are the normal mechanism for evangelistic work.

The wise and devoted pastor or friend will try to persuade by showing the attractiveness of the Christian way as satisfying every test of abiding value, and by making plain the necessity of an active surrender—not belief in the ordinary sense, but surrender. There is a mistaken notion prevalent that a surrender to God means a passive giving up. In reality, the surrender called for is the marshaling of all one's resources in the determinate purpose to do God's will. It is the awakening of latent energies for devotion and service. No act of life could more perfectly express the true nature of volition; hence no other act can mean so much for Christian character. Personal evangelism is primarily a contest of wills, in which the stronger prevails. The strength that prevails is often best exemplified in gentleness, kindness, even self-abasement. Gentleness is, in fact, a quality of divine strength. When we say that it takes grace to be patient and forbearing, we mean that it takes reinforced will-power. Sympathetic patience may be the finest expression of an unconquerable will. For the task of the Christian worker is not to override and dominate the will of another, but rather to elicit and strengthen it for self-mastery. When the surrender is made the sense of release, of joy, of exaltation that follows may be

more or less intense. It may glow as a beacon down the years of after-life and serve as a standard of emotional thrill. But the decision is what signifies.

Let us turn now to the subject of prayer as the most vital experience of the Christian life. Belief in the efficacy of prayer is fundamental to Christianity. Discard this belief, and nothing really is left but débris. Emotional clingings and habits of religious exercise may save us from complete overthrow of faith, but at the expense of a divided nature. Every influence that weakens belief in prayer assails the very life of religion. Yet the halting of faith in prayer is not strange. Science has no place for prayer. A thoughtful Christian, seeing how science is daily adding to its overwhelming proof that nature's laws are inexorable, is likely to wonder if the supposed answers to prayer are not in fact the uncomprehended working of the natural mechanism. Is prayer our dearest privilege, the power that changes destinies, or is it a humiliating form of self-delusion, a kind of auto-hypnotism? Does not the effect of prayer begin and end in the worshiper's own soul? Some avoid this conclusion by discounting the intellect and magnifying faith. But fortunately we are not compelled to choose between intellectual honesty and obscurantism. Science describes for us the mechanism of an orderly world; but that mechanism is only instrumental. Through it the supreme will is working to an end, the realization of the kingdom of wills. The mechanical regularity that impresses us is not so fixed and unchangeable as the end in view. This means that the universe is infinitely sensitive to will-attitudes. We are under compulsion to nature's ways; but when we even lift our hand, we change the will-attitude that is behind nature. Some reflection is needed to master this fact, for it is too central in our experience to be readily grasped. But once understood in its vast and dramatic significance, it reveals prayer as a conference of wills, and explains the possibility of answer to prayer. In prayer the will-attitude undergoes a change, and the universe responds as inevitably and as mysteriously as when we will to lift our hand and the hand is lifted. The perplexed may still object that we do not get, through prayer, what we pray for. But we do not get anything through any means until we

meet the conditions. God answers prayer just as he makes two chemicals unite when the conditions he prescribes are fulfilled. If we would be in Chicago rather than in New York, we need only will and it is done, provided we will sufficiently. Every stage in the journey from one point to the other is a response of the supreme will to our successive volitional acts. In like manner the worshiper, through the changes wrought in prayer, may affect the whole range of being. First comes the intimate change in himself, the transforming vision of God, the stilling of the inner tumult, the joy of harmony; then follow the appropriate effects in the world outside. Such worship refreshes the soul, purifies the springs of action, and prepares the worshiper to strengthen his brethren.

Geo. A. Wilson.

TWO OLD MEN

THE two old men to whom reference is made in this brief, non-committal phrase are Job and Odysseus. You will please notice it is t-w-o, not t-o-o. It is numeral, not an adverb. These men are not too old. Men never are too old, are they? A man may be too young to have any right to talk about his elders and superiors, but said elders and superiors cannot be too old. Job and Odysseus are not too old. In fact, they are not so very old in point of years, at the time that we read of them. Maybe not more than fifty. Fifty is young, is it not? And yet when these men were in the prime of life, they were centuries and millenniums old in the things that really make up life—joy, sorrow, thinking, doing, loving, praying.

And then, they are old-time men. They are modern, but not recent. They lived a long time ago. Before Columbus discovered America. Before Solomon built his temple. Of course, maybe they never lived. Which is only another way of saying that maybe they are always living, in your life, in my life, in the lives of the millions of men who have made up history till now and will be born when we are dead. Odysseus and Job, two old men.

The book of Job and the Odyssey, two ancient pieces of literature. Some folks don't like to go back this far in their thoughts. They think that old-time productions, human experiences frozen into marble, or born into literature, or perhaps symphonized into classical music, are of no value to us to-day. The word "classical" has gone (at least, some folks are trying to make it so) the hasty way of modern Americanism, and has been shortened into "classy"! But quite a bit of meaning has gone with that syllable when it left the old word. And there are still some of us who like to excursion back to those old literatures. It's like a real vacation trip—the start is anticipated, the journey is full of pleasure, and happy is the home-coming at the end, refreshed for renewed activities, and with the thrill of the acquaintanceship of new men and women, different and yet with the same passions and the same problems that we have, and by whose experiences our lives

may be infinitely enriched. The characters of these old poems seem like home-folks.

The Odyssey has been called an epic poem, Job a dramatic poem; yet both titles apply to both poems.

The original conception of an epic poem, framed by Aristotle, is correct. It must have a dignified theme. The theme of these two poems is the same: Man's suffering, why must it be? A preacher is said to have once announced as his subject, "Why Do the Corners of a Man's Mouth Turn Down?" Perhaps this is simply a less dignified statement of the worthy and lofty theme of these two epics. Then, an epic must form an organic whole, it must have unity. So here, try to make two stories out of the material of the Job or the Odyssey, and you fail. There are by-paths, but they are trivial, except as connected with the main highway of the story. And an epic must have ordered progress. So both the Job and the Odyssey, with faces forward, move steadily through the ordered events, in one case from Job's first prosperity to his renewed happiness at the end, in the other case from Odysseus' departure from fallen Troy to his arrival at strife-torn Ithaca. There is another characteristic of an epic which keeps American literature from possessing a real epic. Such a poem must grow up with the race, it must be a part of the race-consciousness from primitive childhood till the time the epic is produced. No matter when the Job was written, it partakes of the Jewish race-consciousness, while of the Odyssey, it seems as though the poem itself or the Greek race could not have existed and grown, either one without the other. Judged by every standard, then, we have here two great epics.

Each of these poems is a drama. The dictionary gives certain essentials of a drama. It must present a story. No more interesting story could be asked for than we have in these dramas. The story is presented by means of characters. What a variety of characters is listed in the dramatis personæ of these poems. The characters must speak and act, and these men and women do speak and act. A plot must be developed, and in these poems it overwhelms us. Then the drama must have accessories. First, of scenery. But how tame is painted canvas, beside the scenery of these dramas as it stretches our imagination to the breaking-point

to conceive it. That desert scene of the ruin of a princely estate, with a great refuse-heap occupying the center of the stage and black thunder-clouds massing up in the background. And that other scene on the ocean, shifting from eastern to western, from southern to northern extremities of the turbulent Mediterranean, with interspersed scenes on Mount Olympus, in the realm of the departed, in brutes' caves, in nobles' palaces. And stage machinery. The three Arabs swinging in on their gaunt "ships of the desert." The rising thunder-storm, climaxing in a voice from out the clouds. The sudden ocean-storm tossing the sailors as chaff tossed by the wind. The rocks trying to crash together on the frail barque. The sirens' music, sweeter than any mortal strains. The transformation before your eyes of men into swine. The blinding of a drunken, one-eyed giant with the pointed, red-hot end of a "telephone pole." And so on through the list of dramatic wonders. Can you imagine any subterranean tanks, any flashes of artificial fire, any cranes and derricks, any human sleight of hand, that would make all these seem real? And then costumes. Dare we conceive the costumes of God and the Satan as they speak in the prologue of the Job? To clothe the suffering Job as he utters his lament would take garments more worn than Joe Jefferson required for his presentation of Rip Van Winkle. And Odysseus must have costumes varying from "atmosphere and sunshine" when he is rescued from the storm, to the most elegant banqueting costume of primitive luxury. A drama is usually intended for presentation on a stage, but these dramas are too vast for presentation on any stage smaller than the world itself. Certainly a person with an imagination worth giving brain-space to, would far rather read these dramas and dream their possibilities and have visions of their splendors, than to see them depicted by men and women acting parts so unlike their real selves and bound down by painted and mechanical crudities.

I do not know hours that have been so inspiring as the two I spent the other afternoon, in reading the story of Job, in the more than two thousand words of the Revised Version. From the first sneer cast in God's face by Satan at a man who is holy for what he gets out of it, through the destruction of property, the tragic death

of the children, the painful horror of disease, the cruel debate, to the voice of God in the storm and the restoration of Job's wealth—through it all there is a thrilling and a thralling power.

And then the Odyssey. If you can't go through the original, read William Cullen Bryant's beautiful poetical translation.[1] It has a hundred thousand words, a few thousand more than the original; there is not a dull line. Troy has fallen and the Greek heroes are homeward bound. For ten years they have been fighting. But Poseidon, god of the waters, is angered at Odysseus and contrives many hardships. His men almost forget home as they eat the lotos-plant in Africa. Then the one-eyed Cyclops devours some of them and nearly captures them all, even in his blindness. Finally, a friend ties all the winds except a favorable one in a bag, that they may not hinder the homeward voyage, but the curious sailors untie the bag when Odysseus is sleeping as they are in sight of the homeland, and they are driven back the length of the Mediterranean. They are stoned; they are turned into swine, Odysseus narrowly escaping through divine aid. They seek advice from departed spirits, and then in return pass the sirens' luring music, the treacherous crashing rocks, and the famous—or infamous—Scylla and Charybdis. The sailors kill sacred cattle and are all destroyed for the crime. Odysseus alone is thrown on the island of a goddess, Calypso, the name signifying her secretive character. She begs him to become immortal as her husband, but he will not, and finally is able, alone, on an improvised raft, to reach a country near his own. He tells his tale and is helped homeward. He slays the hundred insolent suitors who are trying to win the love of his faithful wife, and again takes up happy family life after twenty years' absence.

Who could have conceived these wonderful poems? We do not know. Of the one, we call the old Greek, Homer, but that name means a binder-together, and he may simply have sung as a wandering bard old folk-lore that had been in an unorganized existence for centuries. He may have lived any time from 600 B. C. back to 1000 B. C. Seven cities strove later to be known as

[1] In the Loeb Classical Library has just appeared a fine prose version by Professor A. T. Murray, of Stamford.

his birthplace, but he was said to be a blind, deserted beggar in his life. Someone has said that Homer's poverty was not so very "odd, d'ye see" so "ill 'e 'ad" his accounts conducted. Be that as it may, luckless Homer was perhaps as poor as Job's turkey. And so we can feel only sympathy for the penniless blind man, singing of what he had only heard of or remembered from his youth—early-born dawn, the rosy-fingered daughter of Aurora; the shifting sands on the shore of the loud-sounding deep; the marshaling of troops as the herding of cattle; the picturesque lighting of a flock of wild birds in the meadow, one in front of another; the couching of a lion; the coiling of a serpent; the crash of a forest fire; the rising of a goddess from the sea like a mist or darting down from heaven with wings divine. He is an artist, whether he be Homer or another man of the same name.

Of the author of Job there is hardly a tradition. We think now that it was written four or five centuries before Christ, because of its finished literary style. It was formerly dated much farther back, nearer the possible time of the life of the man, Job. Yet there is nothing in the book to make us think necessarily that the man ever lived. Jesus began many stories abruptly: "A certain man had two sons," "A certain man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho," and yet we do not think that those are necessarily based on individual facts. So this skillful writer may begin a story thus abruptly: "There was a man in the land of Uz, whose name was Job." The Trojan War may be a myth, and Job's troubles a story, but it does not take away from the humanness of it all. We know Job. We know Odysseus.

The name of each man means, in its language, "the hated one." Yet Job's patience has become proverbial, and Odysseus too was ever patient in his long suffering. At the very opening of the Odyssey, the poet says, "Sing to me, Muse, of that man, wandering wide, who suffered very many things." James, in his Letter, writes, "You have heard of the patience of Job." And yet each man was violent, Odysseus, perhaps, in a more muscular manner, Job with words. Both men stood up for their rights. Job said: "I have not gone back from the commandment of his lips. If it be not so now, who will prove me a liar? Doth not he see my

ways and number all my steps? If I have done any of these sins which you name, let thistles grow instead of wheat and cockles instead of barley." Odysseus once and again challenged the gods to conquer him, and unhesitatingly spoke of his blamelessness. And yet through it all each man was devout to his god as he understood him. Prayer was on their lips at every turn. Of them, as Mrs. Robert E. Speer has said of Miss Grace Dodge, that wonderful president of the Young Women's Christian Association, it might be said, "Prayer was like breathing."

Throughout the lives of these two titans of heroism, circumstances and surroundings are similar.

Each man had a wife, one wife. If a man had a wife as faithful as Penelope to Odysseus, he would not need another. And if he had a wife like Job's wife, maybe he wouldn't want another. She has been much talked against. Chrysostom even said that the Satan left her alive that she might help him torment Job even more. But was this nameless woman, after all, another Dame Van Winkle, scolding her vagabond husband, or another Xanthippe, casting dirty dish-water and vile epithets on Socrates, her philosopher-husband, who probably did try her patience? Somehow, I'd like to read between the lines of some verses where she is not mentioned. She was the proud mother of ten children, and she too received the stunning message of their sudden death. And yet she does not shriek out against Jehovah. But the writer makes no mention of her mangled heart. And so she is still in the background, trying to persuade herself that it's all right, trying to make her daily duties seem of any use, trying to go out where she will see children climbing up on the knees of other women without a catch in her throat. One day she does emerge. See, her husband, whose wild shriek she heard as her heart broke the other day, Job, the husband of her love, sits there, living, yes, but unclean, disgraced, and worse than that, writhing in bodily pain that makes her body quiver. She could stand her own pain, but her husband must not suffer. It stuns her, it dulls her mind, and she says to Job: "Your integrity, your righteousness, I know it has been great, but what good has it done you? Renounce a God who treats you thus!" And I believe Job understands her pretty well, for he does

not answer harshly, but says, "Why, wife, that is the way impious women talk. Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" And I believe that if the author had not hurried on to bring the three visitors on the scene so quickly, he might have recorded the woman's quiet acquiescence, as she joined her husband in his brave endurance. And when the prosperity returns, Job's wife shares in it, and other children are given to satisfy her longing.

Under different circumstances than these, Penelope was faithful to Odysseus. No news came to her from her wandering husband, and a hundred princes were eagerly asking for her hand in marriage. Yet the character Homer paints in delicate colors is one of the purest and fairest flowers of all literature.

When the poems open there is one son in the house of Odysseus, and seven sons and three daughters in Job's household. Twenty years Odysseus was away from home. The youth, now budding into manhood, was just born when his father went away. Perhaps it was not even until Odysseus was far-away fighting around Troy that the boy received the name, Telemachos, which means "fighting afar." How proud Odysseus was of Telemachos! Throughout the Iliad, that other great poem of Homer's which describes the operations around Troy, he is the only Greek hero who ever mentions a son at home. Once when mightily angered, he exclaimed: "No longer let me be called the father of Telemachos, if I do not thus and so!" He was always longing to see his boy, and when he arrived home in disguise, it was Telemachos to whom he first revealed himself.

Job, too, was proud of his children. He wanted them to be good. It is given as part of his own uprightness that after the sons held their feasts and called for their three sisters to eat and drink with them, Job made sacrifices on their behalf, saying: "It may be that my sons have sinned and renounced God in their hearts." I wonder if he would have done that if he had been sure. I wonder if an additional sorrow when they were so suddenly slain was caused by the indescribable horror of the remembrance that they were feasting and drinking when the house fell upon them. I wonder if the seven sons and three daughters born

after the period of trials were reared more carefully than had been the children of the original luxury.

There is another set of characters in each of these dramas of intense interest. Those in the Job are well known. Three kings, princely Arabs as Job had been, hear of his distress, and arrange among themselves to visit him. Their meeting and suddenly appearing on the stage together reminds us of those other three nobles from the East, told of by Matthew and vividly described in "Ben-Hur." But those three were guided by faith and were coming to worship. These three, as it turns out, were guided by malice and were coming to criticize. Enter, then, Job's comforters. If it's an honor to have your name printed in the latest dictionary, these men are highly honored, for under Comforter we read: "Job's Comforter: One who professes to comfort, but does the opposite." Ill-fated Job, afflicted with three afflictions: first, destruction of property and family; second, sore boils from the sole of his foot unto his crown; third, comforters who will not comfort! For seven days, one dreary week, from one blue Monday to another, they just sit and stare at him. No word of greeting, no word of sympathy, no word of hope. Job can only sit and watch their faces. We are shown their faces only through their later words, but that is sufficient. For when they speak they betray their belief that misfortune comes only after sin, and though it be hidden, Job must have sinned. And so their faces must be flinty and suspicious as they gaze at him for seven days. No wonder that it drives Job to distraction and he bursts out in a bitter wailing. That breaks the bands that had apparently held them in silence, and they speak, three times around. All are older men. Eliphaz the Temanite is gentlest of the three, but he does not mince words. And the second speaker is Bildad the Shuhite. Shuhite, indeed! It may mean that he came from Shuach, but the English word surely does indicate his intellectual stature. Not his physical stature, after all, for he fairly puffed himself up to a dignified size as he tried to bind Job down to unchangeable traditions. And then Zophar the Naamathite, last and least kindly of all. I cannot wonder that after the first round of speeches Job curled his lip and exclaimed: "No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you.

But I have understanding as well as you; I am not inferior to you; yea, who knoweth not such things as these?" Then you remember there was a fourth comforter, young Elihu. He modestly waited for the others to finish, and then takes fifty lines of poetry to say that he is going to talk, please listen. He says, "I am full of words," and he told the truth. His speech is almost as long as the speeches of the three older comforters put together. A typical young man!

So, too, the Odyssey has certain characters who play opposite the hero in no very helpful manner. The big, coarse Cyclops, of course, does everything that his bloody, untamed nature will permit him. Then there is Circe, the enchantress, who with a drink and a wave of her wand transforms men into beasts. Hostile she is to Odysseus until she finds that he has divine aid, and then she is ready to help. Calypso, the nymph, is ever urging the great hero to give up his lofty aims and live in sensual enjoyment with her. Contrasted with these characters stands the maiden, Nausicaa, one of the daintiest creations in literature, with her parents, Alcinous and Arete, ready to do anything to help Odysseus onward.

And in the list of characters in these dramas we must not forget the gods. In the Odyssey they are the typical, intriguing gods of mythology, simply Greeks grown tall. From that early moment in the myth when a mortal man passed judgment on the three beautiful goddesses, there had been strife between the chosen and the disappointed, with their friends on both sides. And the strife had grown and spread, and Poseidon, brother of King Zeus, lord of all waters, pursues Odysseus through all his wanderings. The entire adventure is a colossal working out of the envies and selfish struggles of the gods.

In the Job, the part of Jehovah and the Adversary, as he is called, is on a higher plane but still unique. Jehovah was holding court, and among the lesser divinities was the Satan, the Adversary, the god who was against God. And Jehovah said to him, "Where have you been?" He said, "I have gone to and fro upon the earth, I have walked up and down in it." But he had not been going about doing good, but evidently spying. And Jehovah asks if he had noted Job, the upright. And he might now be known

by his New Testament name, Diabolos, the Slanderer, for he sneers and points to Job's material reward. "Look what he gets from his holiness!" A laddie once said to his mother, "Will you give me a quarter if I'm good while you're down town?" and she emphatically replied, "No, sir! A son of mine must be good for nothing!" So Satan at least compliments Job; he says that he isn't good for nothing! And Satan is given permission to try Job, to see if his sneer is deserved. And he finds that it is not deserved. For twice he is given permission; twice he visits Job with plague and scourge, to say nothing of the wife and the comforters. And that is all. The actor who is taking his part may now change his costume and take another part if he will, Eliphaz, Bildad, Zophar, or Elihu. Maybe he did take one of those parts. They all talk like—he might have talked. At any rate, the Adversary appears no more. The Slanderer slanders no more in this drama. His sneer was undeserved.

And now that we have sat so patiently through these dramas, as the climax comes, as the actors pause, and the curtain begins to drop slowly, let us sit and watch, unapplauding. Such men as Job and Odysseus do not want applause. They do not need it from such as we. The curtain will be down, shutting out the awful sights, yet, as we close these pages and rise from our chairs, I, for one, cannot shut out that refuse-heap with gaunt Job stretching his arms toward heaven, or that loud-sounding sea with the patient Odysseus longing for home and rest. What have these dramas for us? Why were they conceived?

Some have considered the Odyssey a superb plea for going forward, always the face to the front, shoulders squared to the hindrance; not always certain of the way, but always sure of the direction, forward; not always certain of the immediate future, but always sure that the end will be in higher idealism.

Then some have conceived it to be a titanic allegory of the soul's journey through life. There are storms and there are fair winds. There are mishaps for which others are responsible. So often there are the lotos-eaters, luring us to forget in feasting the higher homing instinct. Or sirens lure us with æsthetic pleasures to forget the higher quest of the good. Circe comes into so many

lives, compelling us to show our brutish natures instead of the soul qualities. And there are also the pure men and the strong maidens who helped Odysseus on to his higher self, and so too with man's soul.

And these interpretations are all good. Odysseus does live. His life is my life and your life. His experiences, in one form or another, are our experiences. His troubles are our troubles, in essence. As the Odyssey describes these troubles, it explains them also. Early in the poem these words are put in Zeus's mouth:

> "How strange it is that mortals blame the gods,
> And say that we inflict the ills they bear,
> When they, by their own folly, and against
> The will of fate, bring sorrow on themselves."

But, perhaps, this is not always the case, for of Odysseus Zeus himself later says:

> "Poseidon follows him with lasting hate,
> Because of Polypheme, the Cyclops, strong
> Beyond all others of his giant race,
> Whose eye Odysseus hath put out."

But throughout the Odyssey there is another strain. It, perhaps, does not account for sorrow, but it goes above the mere explanation. For a goddess, in giving Odysseus on his raft a veil which would keep him from sinking beneath the waves, said:

> "Receive this veil, and bind its heavenly woof
> Beneath thy breast, and have no further fear
> Of hardships or of danger."

The supreme forgetfulness of perfect faith. And has this faith any basis? Listen to the Father Zeus: "Can I forget divine Odysseus?"

And this other colossal drama which we have witnessed, the Job, has often been shown to indicate the reasons for sorrow.

First, Jehovah seems to permit Satan to test Job's goodness. But throughout the drama this is not known to the characters themselves, though the entire audience is let into the secret. The three comforters, indeed, know exactly why sorrow comes. Eliphaz says: "Now a thing was secretly brought to me and mine ear received a whisper thereof, in thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on man." He was superstitious; he

believed a dream. Bildad says: "Inquire, I pray thee, of the former age, and apply thyself to that which their fathers have searched out." He was stubborn, a traditionalist. Zophar says: "Therefore do my thoughts give answer to me, even by reason of the haste that is in me." He was blunt and cruel, a hot-headed egotist. And what the dream and tradition and fury had taught them was simply this: If a man sins, he shall suffer for it, here and now. Sorrow comes only from sin.

Young Elihu believes this, too, but he adds another thought: "Lo, all these things doth God work, twice, yea, thrice with a man, to bring back his soul from the pit, that he may be enlightened with the light of life." Sorrow is punishment for past sins, yes; but, better, a warning voice to restore man.

But in a magnificent speech toward the close of the drama, by Jehovah himself, the very question of sorrow is swallowed up in a greater problem, the unfathomableness of the universe itself. "Did you see things created?" asks Jehovah, "and can you tell the purposes and seasons and causes and results?" With Job, we are overwhelmed, and we make our humble confession to Almighty God, as he did. And we shall receive the same "Well done" that Job received, when Jehovah gave faith, simple faith, a place high above the arguments of the four men who would stab a holy man to uphold their opinions of God.

And now, as if we were seated in the great world-theater, and the curtain had dropped on these great dramas, let us ask the chief actor in each drama to come out, in his ordinary clothes, and let us look at him. Watch them as they enter, Odysseus there, and then Job. Even in ordinary clothes they are heroic, titanic, aren't they? And let us ask them, "Odysseus, Job, what word have you for us? What is there in your experiences which gives us hope and courage in our sorrows and problems?"

And Odysseus comes forward, a bit of the foam still clinging to him. He is erect and steps with a firm tread, after all his years of wandering. And he says: "Yes, I bring you a message from the sea, after all my trials there. I learned it while I wandered and suffered, for through it all I looked up at the supreme god as I knew him, and I trusted him, that he would guide me and take me

to my home if I would but put my life in his hands. Submission and trust is the message I bring to you."

As he steps back, old Job comes forward, his back bent and his step a bit uncertain. But his voice is clear as he says: "And my message is the same as that of my brother, Odysseus, learned, too, in the midst of sorrow and bitterness. I, too, trusted in my God, that if I would put myself uncompromisingly in his hands, he would guide me through my life and to my eternal home, explaining to me all that needs an explanation." And as he steps back, Job repeats for us a couplet from his final speech in the drama, addressed to God: "I had heard of thee by the hearing of the ear; but now mine eyes seeth thee." "You see him in sorrow?" we ask, and as he nods, we say, "We, too, would see him."

And, see, behind them, is another Personality. We had not noticed Him before, so intent had we been on these heroes. But there he stands. Job had said in the midst of the drama, "God is not a man, as I am, that I should answer him, that we should come together in judgment. There is no daysman, no arbitrator, no umpire betwixt us, that might lay his hand upon us both." But see, God is a Man; Job was wrong, Odysseus and his fellow-Greeks were right—God has a human form. And he steps forward, before us, in the person of the great Master of Heaven and Earth, and he lays a hand on the shoulder of each hero, and he says, in tones made deep by suffering and understanding: "Yes, the message that these two friends of mine, brave Odysseus and brother Job here, bring to you from desert and sea, this message is the real message of life. He who would know the great mysteries of life and of sorrow, let him unhesitatingly follow me and give himself to me. Faith is the greatest thing in the world. Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy-laden, questioning not, and I will give you rest."

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A NOTE ON GEORGE ELIOT

SHORTLY after the beginning of the recent war a paragraph appeared in one of our dailies to the effect that Bird Grove, the house at Coventry in which George Eliot lived as a young woman, had been, or was about to be, torn down. This house stood in Foleshill Road, in the northern part of the city. Ten years ago business had begun to take possession of that district, and the site of Bird Grove is no doubt now covered by factories.

It seems rather a pity that it should be so. But not all houses in which celebrated authors have spent some portion of their lives are really worth preserving, and if the influential citizens of Coventry were willing to part with this building there is no good reason why Americans should waste any sentiment over the matter.

The present writer is glad to recall that he had at least a glimpse of the spot where the celebrated woman lived during one of the pleasantest periods of her career. And if one were to judge of their circumstances from the look of their home one would say that the father and daughter must have lived well, must have been persons of consequence. The house in Foleshill Road was stately, yet it had a comfortable air, and like so many English houses it seemed to have been built to last. Such houses never fall down; if it is necessary to remove them they have to be demolished stone by stone.

Robert Evans lived there from March, 1841, up to the time of his death, in May, 1849. Marian, who was about twenty-two when they settled at Coventry, was his companion and homemaker. They never had but one serious difference, and the daughter always regretted that the responsibility for the temporary break lay at her door. When young people become enamored of new ideas—or rather, of ideas that are new to *them*—they are apt to make themselves troublesome to their conservative elders.

In recalling this glimpse of the house I also recall that the tourists (there were two of them in the party) thought to do no more than stare at the building from a distance and then go back to their hotel; the modesty of American tourists is, of course,

proverbial. But a lively little lady, a chance acquaintance whom they questioned to make sure that they were not worshiping at the wrong shrine, urged them at least to step into the grounds and look about. She herself went with them, being a friend of the family then in residence, and she was so good as to point out the windows of George Eliot's own room, the very room in which, so she said, the first of the novels was written.

Their guide was so amiable, besides being an object of interest because she had a sister living in Camden, New Jersey, that the tourists had not the heart to tell her that no one of the novels was written in Foleshill Road, and that when George Eliot lived at Coventry her literary activities were of a wholly different sort, as remote from fiction as possible. This great writer was nearly thirty-eight years of age when she took up that branch of the art in which her reputation was made. She began comparatively late, served no apprenticeship, and was successful from the start. Her case is singular.

To be sure one is not an ancient at thirty-eight, but on the other hand one is no longer young. Novelists as a rule begin at an earlier period. There is something about the writing of tales and novels which leads us instinctively to associate the practice of that very difficult art with youth. When a certain middle-aged essayist told his editor that he had begun writing stories the editor remarked, with an air of astonishment, "Why, I had always supposed that you had your attack of that sort of thing years since, and had fully recovered." The editor knew whereof he spoke. He too had gone the way of so many literary aspirants, had dabbled in fiction, and was now in his right mind.

It is interesting, and not uninstructive, to compare George Eliot with her two great contemporaries, Dickens and Thackeray, and to note when, how, and through what expenditure of effort each made what is commonly called a hit. All three were artists, all three enjoyed enormous popularity in their lifetime, and all three are now Victorian classics. Yet in the accidents of their literary beginning they were as unlike as in their genius.

Dickens, a hard-working shorthand reporter, after a few tentative efforts in story-writing, produced a masterpiece of hu-

morous fiction. He was only twenty-five when he finished Pickwick, and at twenty-five one is exceedingly young. But at that tender age Dickens was world famous. And not through the drolleries of that one book either, for before he had finished Pickwick the serial publication of Oliver Twist had begun. This young author was so spontaneous and so prolific that for a long time the writing of one novel was pretty sure to overlap the writing of its immediate successor, and now and then Dickens found himself at work on three books simultaneously.

Thackeray's first literary performances met with no warm reception. He was able to market his wares to be sure, but not to strike the public fancy. Such following as he had was select; unfortunately a select audience does not bring dollars to the hard-working writer's purse. It is flattering to be admired by the discriminating few, but if a man is to pay his bills it is better far to be admired by the undiscriminating many.

The merits of Yellowplush, Gehagan, Catherine, Fitz-Boodle, and Barry Lyndon were obvious. They can be read with pleasure at the present day. Nevertheless they lacked that element which insures an immediate and a widespread popularity. Thackeray worked at fiction for fully ten years without obtaining the recognition that he merited. The man served a long and, in some respects, painful apprenticeship. When he began the serial publication of Vanity Fair, at once the public recognized its charm and its sordid worth; here was a book that everybody could read, and which when read must be enjoyed.

George Eliot, so far as we know, had no girlish ambitions to shine as a novelist. She was a serious-minded young person and possibly regarded story-telling as a frivolous pursuit. At the age of nineteen she could write gravely to the effect that it was better to read history than historical romances, that religious novels were hateful, and that what she describes as domestic fictions—meaning novels of manners—seemed to her even more dangerous than the other sorts. She professed herself ready "to sit down and weep" at the impossibility of knowing a fraction of the things that were really worth while. Had she then "any time to spend on things that never existed?"

The letter in which this pronouncement on the question of novel-reading occurs is to be found in the first chapter of Cross's Life of George Eliot. As one reads it one cannot help thinking what the loss to English literature would have been had this young lady persisted in her lofty and rather disdainful attitude toward imaginative composition.

She was born with a precious gift for depicting human life through one of the recognized and approved art-forms. But she had a contempt for this and other forms of artistic activity. An industrious student always, she neither read the books nor attempted the kind of writing (when she *did* write) that would tend to develop her extraordinary gift. The translations that she made from the German, and the editorial work that she did on the Westminster Review were calculated to deaden her vivacity and crush her imaginative powers.

Luckily for her (and for us) the gift was not disturbed, merely hindered in its development. Possibly she wrote none the worse for beginning late. It does not seem at all certain that the world has lost anything through her tardiness in finding out her true vocation. If, as they tell us, she had a slow-growing nature it was for the best that she should not discover her bent until she was well past thirty-five. And the discovery was more or less accidental. She became enamored of the title of a story that was yet to be written, The Sad Fortunes of the Rev. Amos Barton. On mentioning this title to Lewes she found that he too was struck by it. He urged her to make a start. "You have wit, description, and philosophy," he said; "those go a good way toward the production of a novel."

She spent a little more than a month in writing Amos Barton. The tale was finished on November 5, 1856. Lewes sent it the following day to the editor of Blackwood's Magazine. It was accepted without hesitation, and the author was paid fifty guineas, a very decent honorarium for a first effort. From that time on she had a steady market for her wares, and she became in time one of the best-paid novelists of her day.

Now to recapitulate: Dickens came before the public a full-grown author, brilliant, popular, easily successful in doing

whatever he undertook, whether it was the writing of as readable books as were ever known or the making of stiff bargains with his publishers. Thackeray struggled for ten long years to obtain what his famous contemporary received for the mere asking, so to say; but there was never a moment during those ten years when he was inclined, because of repeated setbacks, to admit that the goal at which he aimed was not to be reached. George Eliot, beginning to write at an age at which Dickens had half a dozen fine novels to his credit, and Thackeray an immense mass of miscellaneous tales and sketches (though as yet no one book of supreme merit), gained an immediate hearing through the exquisite Scenes of Clerical Life, while Adam Bede brought her popularity. In a quite unostentatious way she took her place among the most distinguished of her fellow-authors and held it by right of genius.

It must not be forgotten that during certain years, when her reputation was at its highest point, she was the victim of overpraise. There came near to being a sort of George Eliot cult. For this she was in no sense responsible. The quality of her work was not affected thereby, and the worst that came of it was the multiplication of non-sympathizers and critics. When worshipers take to shouting their laudations in chorus we may be sure that there will be no lack of fringe of bystanders whose peculiar pleasure it is to utter discordant notes.

Her fame suffered some diminution immediately after her death; this is a common phenomenon in the history of reputations. The world likes to revise its opinion from time to time, to apologize for its late enthusiasm, to confess that it had been a little carried away and was now in a more judicial frame of mind. But these cool critics have had abundant opportunity to repent of their repentance, and it is to be hoped that the majority of them have done so. There is no longer any room for dispute as to the originality of her work, or whether it is likely to endure. The best of it is made up (in large part) of photographically exact studies of English country and town life. They are realistic in a high degree, but their realism is tempered with romance. So true and at the same time so winning are they that they have become

a perennial source of delight. It is inconceivable that a time should come when George Eliot would be no longer read.

In a sympathetic little essay by the late Joseph Jacobs we are told that one may discern in George Eliot's works "two widely varying sets of artistic motives." Jacobs classes together the Scenes of Clerical Life, Adam Bede, The Mill on the Floss, Silas Marner, Felix Holt, and Middlemarch, and calls them "novels of memory." He speaks of the intensity of the sort of life that is depicted in these books. (For a more modern illustration of the intensity of that life we may turn to the novels of Eden Phillpotts.)

The second division of her writings consists of Romola, The Spanish Gipsy (a novel in verse), and Daniel Deronda. And these are described by this critic as "romances of the historic imagination." Jacobs says of this latter group that they are "consciously creative instead of being, as in the other novels, unconsciously reproductive."

We shall not, I think, be reading into this admirable criticism more than is there if we say that George Eliot wrote the novels of the first group because she *had* to write them, and of the second group because she *wanted* to write them. Romola, indeed, was a gigantic *tour de force* and cost her incredible labor both in the way of preliminary study and of actual invention. This is the book of which she herself said, "I began it a young woman—I finished it an old woman." But there were some compensations; she was paid the handsome sum of $35,000 for her Italian novel. Not a few authors would accept old age with considerable resignation on those terms.

If it be true that writers do best what they do most easily it follows, as a matter of course, that the novels of the first group are far and away superior to those of the second group. George Eliot had an immense store of recollections from which to draw. She was born and bred among the people whom she describes. As a girl, as a young woman, she must have laughed with herself a thousand times over the racy speech of these village and country folk. One can imagine her repeating to a sympathetic friend the sayings of this character or that, and enjoying the friend's enjoyment of them. She was fortunate in having actually lived

with her *dramatis personæ*, and doubly fortunate in that she was able to view them objectively and turn their humors to good account. By what alchemy she transmuted the base metal of commonplace rural life into the fine gold of literature we shall never know. That is one of the secrets of genius. The most introspective of authors cannot tell how the thing is done.

The best of her scenes in this *genre* are familiar to all readers, and while they may have been equaled by other novelists it is safe to say that they have never really been surpassed. You may open at random any one of the characteristic novels and run a good chance of lighting on a capital illustration of her gift for delineating the people she so well understood.

Take for example the paragraphs in Adam Bede describing the antics of Ben Cranage—wiry Ben, as they called him—when he performed a hornpipe for the entertainment of the gentry and the farmers. George Eliot touches off neatly the two principal characters, the fiddler and the dancer, and brings out their consummate egoism. Each believed himself to be all in all in the exhibition. Cranage was nevertheless the star. "Wiry Ben never smiled; he looked as serious as a dancing monkey—as serious as if he had been an experimental philosopher ascertaining in his own person the amount of shaking and the varieties of angularity that could be given to the human limbs."

Ben had an admirer in Martin Poyser, "whose eyes followed his movements with a fervid gravity that equaled his own." And being a sincere admirer Poyser must voice his feeling with respect to Ben's amazing gyrations. "What dost think o' that?" he said to his wife. "He goes as pat to the music as if he were made o' clockwork. I used to be a pretty good un at dancing myself when I was lighter, but I could never ha' hit it just to th' hair like that."

"It's little matter what his limbs are, to my thinking," returned Mrs. Poyser. "He's empty enough i' the upper story, or he'd niver come jigging an' stampin i' that way, like a mad grasshopper, for the gentry to look at him. They're fit to die wi' laughing, I can see."

"Well, well, so much the better, it amuses 'em," said Mr. Poyser, who did not easily take an irritable view of things. . . .

This is one of the lesser sketches in the novel, but slight as it is it could not have been improved. Another, equally slight and equally good, is that which brings together the Poysers and Mr. Craig, the Scotch gardener. Both the description and the dialogue are perfect. Yet the author puts no stress on the quite unimportant incident of the meeting between the three. She tossed off little sketches of this sort with the ease that we associate with mastery of one's materials and overflowing abundance of ideas.

It will be remembered that Mrs. Poyser did not think so highly of Craig as did Mr. Poyser, and as far as possible was she from sharing Craig's high opinion of himself. She said to her husband, privately of course, "You're mighty fond of Craig; but for my part, I think he's welly like a cock as thinks the sun rose o' purpose to hear him crow." But she was not at heart hostile to the man, and would without doubt have admitted that God had made him what he was. She used to declare that she had "nothing to say again' him, on'y it was a pity that he couldna be hatched o'er again, an' hatched different."

One of the most elaborate and brilliant examples of George Eliot's art is that chapter of Silas Marner which introduces all the village worthies of Raveloe. They are assembled in the kitchen bar of The Rainbow on a wet night. For a time they puff their pipes in silence; then they begin to talk, every man in his humor. Better talk than theirs is rarely found in fiction and almost never in life.

As is so often the case when men of this stamp come together and exchange views, the fun lies in the directness of their assertions and the aptness of their figures of speech. No one of the party feels under obligation to hide what he really thinks of his neighbor merely for politeness' sake. If Ben Winthrop has a low opinion of Tookey's musical accomplishments he says so. "But as for you, Master Tookey, you'd better stick to your 'Amens'; your voice is well enough when you keep it up in your nose. It's your inside as isn't made right for music; it's no better nor a hollow stalk." Poor Tookey was the parish clerk's deputy and his elders make him a butt for ridicule. The landlord, who holds that the

truth always lies between the extremes of statement, comes to the chap's rescue.

The best passage—in a chapter made up from beginning to end of good things—is the discussion on ghosts. Dowlas, the farrier, doesn't believe in them and waxes hot over the attitude of any man less skeptical than himself. Again the landlord interposes, this time with an exquisite analogy. He says: "There's folks, i' my opinion, they can't see ghos'es, not if they stood as plain as a pike-staff before 'em. And there's reason i' that. For there's my wife, now, can't smell, not if she'd the strongest o' cheese under her nose. I never see'd a ghost myself; but then I says to myself, 'Very like I haven't got the smell for 'em.' I mean, putting a ghost for a smell, or else contrairiways. And so, I'm for holding with both sides; for, as I say, the truth lies between 'em."

The farrier is not convinced. "Tut, tut," he said; "what's the smell got to do with it? Did ever a ghost give a man a black eye? That's what I should like to know. If ghos'es want me to believe in 'em, let 'em leave off skulking i' the dark and i' lone places—let 'em come where there's company and candles." As we all know, that is what ghosts have a decided aversion to doing.

In her delineation of the humorous aspects of conjugal disagreement George Eliot is often at her very best. Married life has been called a species of warfare, and yet it is not necessarily deadly; many of its lighter skirmishes are amusing, if not to the combatants then to the spectators. What could be better than the passage at arms between Mr. and Mrs. Glegg (in The Mill on the Floss) the morning following the Tulliver dinner? Mrs. Glegg thought herself insulted by her brother-in-law on that occasion and could not forgive her husband for not defending her with sufficient spirit. Glegg had enough to do in defending himself, though one would never think of him as henpecked. A naturally kindhearted man, he was sorry enough that there had been words at the dinner-table, and he was in hopes that his wife's anger had had time to subside, now that she "had slept upon it." As a matter of fact she came down to breakfast angrier than ever.

Glegg was careful not to begin the conversation, as our novel-

ist puts it, "lest, to so delicate an article as a lady's temper, the slightest touch should do mischief." His silence merely gave fresh cause of offense.

When Mrs. Glegg felt that she had been put upon, it was her invariable habit to punish herself. This morning she made her tea weaker than usual and declined butter; thus she aggravated the feeling of martyrdom. And when their customary sparring—the dialogue here is too long to quote—had reached the point where one or the other must withdraw, the lady would rise, order the maid to put a fire in her room and draw the blinds, and would retire upstairs, carrying with her Baxter's Saints' Everlasting Rest over which she would sit for the next eight hours. It seems a droll way to discipline a husband; but any method is well enough so long as it brings the man to terms.

George Eliot can always be depended on to bring out cleverly the dawning consciousness in a given husband and wife that neither, after years of wedded life, has fully sounded the other's peculiarities, or can be certain that some new trait of character will not unexpectedly develop. This is a source of entertainment to the reader, as it is a source of astonishment to the parties concerned.

If some of George Eliot's married people show a delightful inability to understand one another it cannot be said that that is true of all of them. Dorothea Brooke was not slow in discovering that her husband was both shallow (in respect to scholarship) and selfish. Yet even she was destined to have cause for astonishment when Casaubon's will should be read. And Lydgate quickly perceived the problem he had in Rosamund Vincy, a young woman whose beauty was like that of exquisite porcelain, who never lost her temper, and whose tenacity of purpose was such that no influence could bend or sway her, least of all her husband's.

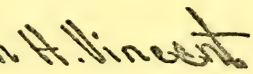
Many readers and critics have expressed keen disappointment over the way in which George Eliot marries off her characters. One has so often heard complaints of the way in which living people, one's friends and acquaintances, choose their mates that it is natural to conclude the novelist must have stuck pretty close to the facts of life.

A sympathetic critic, Leslie Stephen, holds that George Eliot was "too thoroughly feminine to be quite at home in the psychology of the male animal." The certainty of touch to be found in her portraits of women is, he thinks, lacking when she comes to draw a man. If the critic had Will Ladislaw particularly in mind his point is well taken. Not only is Ladislaw a failure as a study of the type he is supposed to represent, but he is also an unspeakable bore. Whenever he makes his appearance he becomes—to readers like myself—a nuisance. He is supposed to have a certain wayward charm, though he gives no proof of the possession. His hair emits light to be sure, he has a lovely throat, and he looks well lying on a rug before the fireplace; but this sort of thing doesn't go far enough. Ladislaw resembles an actor who has been cast for a good part and can make nothing of it.

On the other hand, such characters as Lydgate, Farebrother, Chettam, Garth, Cadwallader, and even Brooke (to mention but a few of the well-known figures in Middlemarch) are lifelike and consistent. The most exacting reader would be hard put to it to say wherein the delineation could be improved.

Briefly, George Eliot was an all-round artist, one of the most eminent that England has as yet produced. In dialogue and description, in analysis of character and in philosophy, in humor and in pathos, she is always admirable and often unsurpassed. Even in the making of a plot—that overestimated feature of novel writing—she holds her own with the best of her contemporaries. Whoever tries to persuade himself (and us) that she was great for her day but that her day has gone by, wastes his time. She is a more commanding figure in English letters now than she was in her lifetime.

"There has been no better novelist since the death of Dickens," says Andrew Lang, a critic who was never known to deal in exaggeration or to scatter fair words indiscriminately. He wrote that sentence in 1910, and it is pleasant to recall his estimate now that we are celebrating the hundredth anniversary of George Eliot's birth.



PARTY

At the moment of writing, the tumult and the shouting of the national conventions dies; the captains and the kings depart. But still stands that ancient sacrifice—the sacrifice to party of the voter's conscience. The antinomy of conventions and convictions, of party and principle, recurs to be resolved by each thoughtful voter as best he may. It seems an opportune time to examine the function of the party in American politics.

In the history of American parties there are periods in which no great issue is allowed to rise. Platforms are evasive. Parties take no opposite stands. Men instead of policies and measures form the pivots of elections. The party machines work smoothly, running on their own momentum. Bosses rule undisturbed over vast agglomerates of voters, who differ widely on current questions, but are held together by habit, tradition and party loyalty as well as by less worthy motives.

Sooner or later such a peaceful epoch is brought to an end by the disruptive approach of a new sun—to use an astronomic parallel—by some great ascendant, disturbing issue which releases the gravitative bonds of the old systems and even accretes new worlds in the political sky. Such an issue was slavery. It broke into a period of compromise and stifled convictions which had lasted twenty years. It disrupted the old parties, and a new party, the Republican, was formed by the union of Whigs, Liberty men, Free Soilers, and antislavery Democrats. Again, in 1896, after two decades of silence, equivocation, and political dry rot, the question of the free coinage of silver compelled the political parties to take definite sides. Party ties were loosened. Inflationists left the Republican party to vote the Democratic ticket; while in still greater numbers Democrats joined the Republicans in upholding the gold standard.

We are now about to have another "solemn referendum" on a major issue which demands settlement at once, an issue whose decision touches the honor and vital interests of the country, reaches in its international relations around the globe, and bids

fair to influence profoundly the history of the world to centuries undeterminably remote. If the electorate could realize the far-reaching results of the November ballot, the present year might easily see a disruption of parties as decisive as that of 1896. At the least many a conscientious voter will feel the strain of contending forces—the gravitative power of party fealty and the attraction of compelling principle. And to weigh the claims of party fealty, one must consider the place of party in American political life.

In no other of the great democracies of the world has party obtained such power as in ours. It dominates government. It dictates policy. It enslaves conscience. It sets up and pulls down statesmen. Indeed, the essential difference between the statesman and the politician is not that the one is living and the other dead. The statesman, as an eminent historian has pointed out, is the government official who executes the will of the party boss, the politician.

Oddly enough the political party is extra-constitutional. The framers of the constitution made no provision for it. They regarded it as pernicious, "able to clog the administration," as Madison said, "and to convulse the society and to sacrifice to its ruling passion and interest both the public good and the rights of other citizens." In his farewell address Washington warned his countrymen, at great length and with solemn emphasis, against political parties—a warning less often quoted than that against foreign entanglements. "They serve," said Washington, "to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party—often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community." "Let me also warn you in the most solemn manner," he continues, "against the baneful effects of the Spirit of Party generally." Among these effects he enumerates the spirit of revenge natural to party dissensions, the agitation of jealousies and animosities, the distraction of public councils and the enfeeblement of the public administration. If the Father of his Country had foreseen in detail the distraction of public councils and the enfeeblement of the public administration of the last year he

could hardly have set his censure in stronger terms. The impartial verdict of history can hardly fail to adjudge the spirit of party responsible for the long and perhaps fatal delay of the United States in entering heartily and helpfully the new international order which men of all nations had hoped would prove the salvation of the world from war, and this, history will probably assess as the greatest of that spirit's crimes.

It is true that men often lay the blame for the breakdown of our government in this world crisis to the antiquated machinery of the Constitution. With its checks and balances the Constitution allows Congress and the President to deadlock. In such national and international crises as those under Buchanan and Wilson, each party fights for the steering wheel—one from the seat of the administration, the other from the seat of the legislature. If the big machine is not wrecked by ditching or collision, we can only thank "that merciful Providence which watches over infants, idiots, and the United States."

But the framers of the Constitution built a representative and not a democratic government. They devised a machine to be steered by the collective wisdom of men elected without help of party and uncontrolled by party. Their solemn warnings against political parties and the spirit of party indicate at least an apprehension that the machine which they had built was but ill-adapted for control by party politics. All the same, triumphant democracy arose, organized its parties with their caucuses, conventions, candidates and platforms, and by means of party gained control of government. And so firmly is party wrought into the organic structure of our polity that in some future conflict between party and Constitution it is not difficult to foresee which must yield.

What is the major function of party which has made it indispensable in American politics? Is it not this? By means of party the people decide the outstanding and urgent questions of public policy. Under the two-party system these questions are propounded, sides are taken, the electorate is educated by discussion and the will of the majority is ascertained. This, I take it, is the essential function of party in America—to ascertain the will

of the people, of the majority of the people, and to commit that will to a friendly government to be carried into effect.

Obviously the party system works only so far as it permits voters to express freely their unbiassed judgments on the questions at issue and the fitness of the candidates. Any crystallization of party into a permanent body of voters who never scratch or bolt frustrates the very design of party and destroys the chief reason for its existence. It leaves the party nothing more than a well-organized and officered army marching straight to its objective—the spoils of office—and well deserves all the censure which Washington and Madison heaped upon the party system.

Perhaps we may focus our attention upon the real purpose of the party as we attempt to draw its limitations. What is the party not?

The party is not the nation. "My country, right or wrong"—one may be forgiven for saying that; but never for acting on the motto, "Right or wrong, my party!" And one's party is not one's church. Both, to be sure, have creeds; but that of the party must change as new questions rise, while that of the church remains the same from generation to generation. One does not join his party with a solemn profession of faith and a promise to continue steadfast in that faith until death. Nor is party a fraternal organization with ends of fellowship and mutual help. To take out a life membership in a party is a confession of ignorance of its meaning.

It is well to avoid those misconceptions which give rise to all the bitter animosities which Washington condemned. Under a democracy there is no room for a party of "the best people," *οἱ ἄριστοι, hoi aristoi.* The opposite party is not composed exclusively of idiots or rascals. Our opponents hold from time to time opinions different from ours on some important question—the tariff, the currency, the civil service, colonial possessions, or the League of Nations—but we need not hate them on that account. They have a right to their opinion, we to ours. We only ask that all who hold with us in opinion shall vote with us when opinions are to be counted.

Nor is party formed about dead issues and dead leaders. The

humble ions which in electroplating gather about the cathode through which the live current passes, and not about some dead piece of metal, might well be an ensample of good works to many a voter. The citizen who finds that he is about to cast a ballot because he has always belonged to this party or to that, or because of his veneration for this dead leader or for that, should go before the tribunal of his conscience and have himself adjudged incompetent to vote.

A party is not a clan of kinsmen under the leadership of their chief. I am aware that the party tends to the most thorough organization, an organization as militant as that of the nomad tribe. It has its high command, its village sergeants to get out the vote, and its courts-martial. There are also formed a thousand ties of friendship and association. When men unite for some high purpose, such as the overthrow of slavery, their sympathies, their labors in a common cause, the enthusiasms, ideals and will to victory which they share together, all weave a living tissue, sensitive, strong, enduring. To sever such party ties may be as painful as to rend a member from the living body. Nevertheless to men of every party as new problems rise comes the clear voice of Country—"He that loveth friends and party more than me is not worthy of me."

The clan makes much of the personality of the leader. Loyalty to persons is its cohesive force. The political clan-party also rallies around the candidate rather than around the principle. I am far from saying that the personality of the candidate counts for nothing. The great Mugwump defection from the Republican party in 1884 was largely due to the character of the presidential candidate. Yet, as a rule, both parties may be trusted to nominate, for the presidency at least, men of integrity and competence. They may be biddable, but their private morals are above suspicion. The issue at a national election is really between opposing policies and not between candidates, who often are but figure-heads. Even the greatest names in party history do not rise above the supremely important principles which they championed.

It is not upon the personal merits of Mr. Harding and Mr. Cox that the national election of 1920 pivots. The major con-

tention between the parties as shown by their platforms and by their struggles for many months is this: Shall the United States join the nations already leagued to enforce peace on earth and to promote good will among men, and join them without demanding special privileges and relief from common and necessary obligations? To this question one party by its platform and record says yes, the other party, no. I make no plea for or against the League of Nations. But every citizen is interested in a fair and conclusive referendum. The referendum is not upon the relative greatness of Jefferson and Lincoln, the annexation of Texas, or bimetallism; it is not to ascertain whether the majority of voters have Democratic or Republican fathers and forefathers or whether more have been Republicans or Democrats in the past. America, through her two great parties, asks her citizens to stand up and be counted on the question of the League of Nations. If we are to have as final a referendum on the League as obtained on slavery and on free silver, we must vote our present convictions rather than our past affiliations.

How will the new electorate of women regard party. Certainly they will demand of their political leaders integrity and character of the highest. But will they wear the party collar less tamely than men? Will party be to them church, club, and kin? And in particular, will they join the sessile and undetachable brethren at either end of the party see-saw? In that case their counterpoised votes will count for little. It is the "inconsistent Republicans" and the inconsistent Democrats, the progressive Republicans who vote a progressive Democratic ticket when the reactionary wing of their own party gains control, and the stand-pat Democrats who under like conditions vote Republican—it is the free-necked men and women who use the ballot to register their convictions on living issues who really decide the policies of the nation. They are the saving remnant who keep the political parties true to their essential function.

W. H. Norton.

THE COLLEGE AND MODERN SOCIALISMS

Socialism, as a theory of social and democratic control of the sources, manufacture and distribution of wealth, and socialism as a movement widely and profoundly influencing the modern world, is so significant as to be comparable to the Protestant Reformation or the political revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Yet socialism remains undefined. No definition formulated is acceptable to all parties, and indeed no definition can claim for itself scientific character. Pronounced socialists of any school will formulate definitions that will by no means be accepted by individualists or by conservatives, who look with apprehension and aversion upon any political doctrines that tend either to revolution or to revolutionary evolution.

Professor Robert Flint, whose history and critical study of socialism was published a quarter of a century ago, based on Edinburgh lectures to workingmen, makes a discriminating statement with which many would still agree, that "Socialism is the exaggeration of the rights and claims of society, as Individualism is an exaggeration of the rights and claims of individuals." "The latter system rests on excessive or exclusive faith in individual independence; the former system rests on excessive or exclusive faith in social authority. Both systems are one-sided and sectarian —as most 'isms' are." Professor Flint, himself, attempts a definition of Socialism which he frankly does not expect socialists to accept. He says: "Socialism, then, as I understand it, is any theory of social organization which sacrifices the legitimate liberties of individuals to the will or interests of the community." The very wording of the definition denotes prejudgment and prejudice. The "sacrifice of the legitimate liberties of individuals" surely cannot be said to constitute an impartial definition.

A strictly scientific definition of "Socialism" is admittedly impossible, at least for the present. James Bonar, Canadian economist, gives us, however, a good working definition, though one that obviously will not satisfy extreme socialists of any school. He says: "Socialism is that policy or theory which aims at securing by

the action of the central democratic authority a better distribution, and in due subordination thereto, a better production, of wealth than now prevails." The revolutionary socialist would spurn such a definition. Indeed, any sort of a radical socialist would reckon this definition an attempt at compromise, a mere political opportunism.

We, however, in America, both in Canada and in the United States, are dominated by the traditions and habits of Anglo-Saxon civilization. John Bull and Uncle Sam are nothing if not practical. Opportunists they may be called, but theirs is not an opportunism of evasion and weak compromise. The Anglo-Saxon on either hemisphere must be shown before he will adopt. But he does not lack courage or political sagacity. The Anglo-Saxon is conservatively progressive. He will not put green timber of untried variety into his political or social structure and build upon it. He feels his way and makes sure of his footing, just as Great Britain is now doing and has done in her colonial policies. John Bull has been provokingly slow, as in Ireland and India, but constructively progressive nevertheless, and the world shares his expectation of "finding a way."

In spite of the portentous proportions and serious character of many individual disturbances of the present, and in spite of much disconcerting economic and social and political propaganda of a more or less revolutionary character, Americans are incurable optimists. They, or we, expect progress to be made, solutions to be found, and democracy to survive. Indeed, our great American Revolution, in the midst of which our nation came to birth, was a revolution to make forever unnecessary revolutions of violence. By orderly though often turbulent processes, and by majority rule, all needed reforms can be accomplished. The radical revolutionist is an exotic. The atmosphere of America is uncongenial to all sorts of "reds." Except when unusually nervous, we are disposed to be lenient so far as expressions of opinions are concerned. We believe so implicitly in our own democratic ideals and institutions, that we have little fear but these ideals and institutions can find adequate defense in their own intrinsic reasonableness and justness.

We are just now unusually nervous. The perils of secret propaganda of unprecedented extent preceding our entrance into the war, the fact that much of Europe is now on fire, the danger that existing institutions may prove unstable, governments go down and nations become bankrupt, and world credit be demoralized—all these things together with the menacing progress and apparent power of revolution that threatens the stability of society itself in much of Europe, are calculated to make us alert and apprehensive—and nervous. For the most part our soldiers and sailors, who so long strained at the leash in France, but when let loose did things there with American dash and energy, are impatient of alien propaganda of revolutionary doctrines here. We have small patience—at last—with all carriers of red flags in America. We are quite willing to have all such go to a more congenial climate in the old world from which, quite without exception, they seem recently to have come.

But "alien and sedition acts" are really out of our line. We are awkward in handling such weapons. We are so accustomed to a fair fight and so confident both of the justice of our national cause and our institutions and so confident of the spirit of fair play and ultimate loyalty to our government of the vast majority of our citizens that we feel half chagrined at admitting any necessity for drastic regulations upon the utterance of mere opinions—however revolutionary. We hardly take the soapbox orator seriously.

But the wide and deep movement toward socialism, in the sense of Bonar's definition—"a policy or theory which aims at securing by the action of the central democratic authority a better distribution, and in due subordination thereto a better production, of wealth than now prevails"—must be taken seriously. Statesmen and governments have been constrained, as was Bismarck, to trim their sails to this wind. The social passion for economic justice is strong within the movement. The advocates of socialism in its various forms have the zeal of religionists. Indeed, socialism is to many a religion. The utopias of socialism lie in the future. The promised land seems at least possible of approach. The social prophets of the hour are, in the broad sense, socialists.

Of course, the weakness of socialism is the lack of scientific definition and the lack of agreement upon any program. Beneath this superficial weakness lie the fundamental differences in the social philosophy of the many kinds of socialists.

One of the outcroppings of the Hegelian philosophy is the hard, materialistic socialism of which Carl Marx is the prophet. With a kind of relentless fatalism, this philosophy conceives class arrayed against class in an economic warfare, in which the only possible peace is the unstable peace of a truce between groups whose interests are always antagonistic. To those who hold this philosophy social cooperation is impossible. Carrying this philosophy to its logical extreme, we have the socialistic programs that look to the eventual dominance of the proletariat. To the worker belong all the fruits of industry. He must take these fruits by force. Revolution is the ultimate logic of the Marxian socialist. Bolshevism is the legitimate child of this school of socialists. Merciless economic forces only are recognized. Spiritual values are not reckoned with. Not all who hold the creed go the way of violent revolution, but even these look for the same results to come through the working of economic forces, that the revolutionists seek to gain by political violence.

The socialism, or "social isms," with which we have most to deal—unless revolution shall receive unexpected impetus from an insane and unintelligently harsh use of governmental and capitalistic power—are those socialistic movements that seek hopefully to socialize both government and industry. This means usually public utilities, in short, their operation for the public good and not primarily for private profit. It means that labor shall share in the control of industry, and shall by its collective power deal with capital on equal terms. It means that the power of the state, especially the power to lay taxes, shall be used to distribute more justly the burdens of government and to help equalize more justly the distribution of wealth. It means that public expenditures of money shall be for the whole people. It means that the state, or municipality, shall feel responsible for the removal of plague spots, as slums, insist on sanitary and humane housing of the working people and the poor. It means carrying our already highly

socialized educational system still further in teaching that is vocational. It means, in short, humanizing society.

With these tendencies and with this spirit the college must have deep sympathy. In every college, especially the democratic colleges of the Middle West, there are many children of the hard-working and even of the poor. There are also the sons and the daughters of the rich. The head of the department of sociology in our college tells me, that whenever an issue is faced as between capital and labor it runs a line of cleavage through his class room. But the fact that both interests are represented there makes it an ideal place for frank and fair discussion of social and economic principles. Moreover, it becomes a place for the encouragement of social sympathies. The ideals that socialism cherishes, if they can be brought forward freed from the passions and prejudices of class and selfish and narrowed interests, challenge the heart of youth, whether from the home of wealth or of poverty. The new chivalry of our day is democratic and socialistic.

Probably no need is more urgent just now than intelligence as to what socialism means, and an intelligent direction of the tremendous forces that are being mobilized and let loose under the general name of socialism. Such intelligent leadership the college is especially called upon to give and to prepare. Stand-pat capitalists and managers, with their slogans about managing their own business, and radical labor agitators may be scornful of both church and school, but ultimately, if industrial peace is to be established and society become cooperative among all its workers, the ideals of the sanctuary and of the academy must be recognized and practiced. As a political program, as an economic theory, as a social philosophy, socialism must be taken up and studied with scientific thoroughness; but more than all this, socialism must be reckoned with as a mighty movement embodying certain social principles in varying form.

Socialism is at heart a great desire, a mighty hope, a passionate purpose. Scientific definition is difficult, even impossible, but after all attempts at definition have failed, and after all projected political programs that seek to realize the great desire that we call socialism have been found wanting, the thing that Socialism wants,

as Alexander Black puts it in his recent novel, The Great Desire, is simple enough. That "great desire" may be as impossible of definition as gravitation or life or light, but its motive can be understood. Socialism, in this deeper meaning, seeks for "applied brotherhood, not merely brotherhood talk, but brotherhood practice —not merely a sentiment nor even a system, but a life expressing brotherhood. The Socialist wants coordinated liberty, opportunity safeguarded by true equality, a fruit of labor assured by a common glory of labor, peace assured by common need and common cause, happiness not as a private gift but as a public blessing. The Socialist wants to see the barriers of special privilege brushed away; to see all mankind endowed, not only with the name of liberty, but with the means of liberty—to see a garden and garden ethics, where a jungle and jungle ethics have prevailed—to see the ugliness of organized cruelty displaced by the beauty of universal justice." All of which is rhetorical enough. Such dreams and dreamers may be easily ridiculed. Any attempt at the realization of such dreams by profound changes in the industrial and social order may readily be dismissed as "raids upon prosperity." The trouble with this method of procedure is that it gets nowhere. The dream survives, the social passion lives, the old order changeth under our astonished eyes. The stream of the centuries moves out of its channel into new channels. Whether we like it or not, whether we admit it or not, the accent of emphasis is changing from protection of property as such and the fostering of commercial interest solely or chiefly, and the reckoning of profits as the main concern of business, to the recognition of the human factors and the social values involved. Where should we look for wisdom and for sympathetic understanding of the social spirit and the social movement if not to our colleges?

It should be noted that the social spirit is found not seldom among the rich and prosperous, among the inheritors of privilege. Deeply understood, this progressive movement is not entirely from the economic bottom of society, from the dispossessed. While discussion goes on in the groves of the academy, and while conflict rages in the mills and factories, and while politicians listen in perplexity to the clamor, there are not wanting statesmen, and men of

large means and consequent power, possessed of the social vision. Within industry itself, not as a mere makeshift or subterfuge or evasion, but in sincerity, labor is being taken into the counsels of capital and is being challenged to assume both authority and responsibility of management, and labor is being given, not grudgingly but with ready recognition of the economic soundness of the policy, a proportionate share in the profits of business. It is altogether probable that with fuller recognition of the rights of labor to share in profit must come the duty of labor, at least above a living wage, to share in losses.

What has thus far been said reckons almost entirely with the economic and material stakes involved. Of the larger and really the fundamental interest—the domestic life, the intellectual opportunity, the enlarged horizon of personality—we do not now speak. These, after all, are the values that must be developed, appreciated, and conserved.

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IS A BISHOP A MEMBER OF AN ANNUAL CONFERENCE?

In the trial scene in The Merchant of Venice, Shakespeare, whose master mind seems to have skirted all shores of human thinking, shows the result of establishing precedents upon wrong decisions.

> "Bassanio—I beseech you wrest once the law to your authority; to do a great right, do a little wrong.
> Portia—It will be recorded for a precedent and many an error by the same example will rush into state. It cannot be."

As vines slowly creeping between stones in a building dislocate them and finally bring the structure down in ruin, so wrong precedents gradually insinuating their way into courts of law and unsettling long established rules of justice, undermine the state by destroying the confidence of the people in the integrity of the courts. As in the state so in the church. It is just as easy for error in doctrine and laxity in discipline, for usurpation of authority and assumption of rights to creep into the church, and by destroying the confidence of the people in the stability and integrity of government to create schism and anarchy throughout the body. Great wrongs seldom enter the church through the front door. They climb up some other way gradually, stealthily, or, if sure of popular support, boldly assume to be an expression of the will of God or of the progress of democracy. For "what error is there in religion that some sober brow hath not adorned it with a text, hiding its grossness with fair ornament?" Nor do significant or important changes in doctrine or discipline occur suddenly. They are a growth, "first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear," and this whether the change is good or bad. Necessary changes which evidence genuine progress and adaptation to enlarging needs are not only always normal in their development, for a monstrosity may be that, but, like true evolution, they are also true to type. Thus in their development they maintain the continuity of the past with the present without break in the life and thought of the church.

Herein lies the difference between freakishness and historicity. Let once the conviction arise in the church that doctrine and discipline and government are at the mercy of an accidental majority, that change in any of these essentials of the church may be effected by a cyclonic blast of radicalism, its iconoclasm mourned when its enthusiasm has abated, and we gather up the pieces, then, as a result, all confidence in the government of the church would be at an end. It would be as destructive to the organization as a corrosive sublimate on a naked nerve.

It must, therefore, be of supreme importance in a world church like ours that the closest scrutiny be given to those changes which being new and novel, because having no roots in Methodist soil, find entrance into our doctrines of polity either by direct legislation or indirectly by legislation through interpretation.

In view, therefore, of the significance of some recent changes in our polity, attention is called to some rulings of the Judiciary and approved by the General Conference (1920), which approval is equivalent to legislative enactment, concerning the membership of a bishop in an Annual Conference. These rulings are found in Judiciary Report No. 20, on page 533 of The Daily Christian Advocate. They are answers to a Memorial on the Decision of the Judiciary of 1912 affirming that a bishop is a member of an Annual Conference.

Personally we know nothing of the memorial, who sent it, or that such was to be presented. Nor shall we deal with the answers of the Judiciary to it, but shall confine ourselves solely to the fundamental question, Is a bishop a member of an Annual Conference? For, if it shall be clearly shown that a bishop is not and never has been in the history of Methodism a member of an Annual Conference, the answers to the memorial "Like cares that infest the day, shall fold their tents like the Arabs and silently steal away."

Statement of the case. The General Conference of 1912 instructed the Judiciary Committee to answer the following questions:

Is Missionary Bishop Oldham a member of any Conference? If so, what Conference?

The Judiciary replied as follows:

We answer that Bishop Oldham never absolutely lost his Annual Conference relationship, and is now a member of the Annual Conference to which he belonged when he was elected to the office of Missionary Bishop, and will continue in such membership unless he select, with the approbation of the bishops, membership in some other Annual Conference.

Our reasons are the following:

1. Membership in an Annual Conference can be terminated only in four ways: (1) By location, (2) by surrender of ministerial office, (3) by withdrawal, and (4) by refusal to do the work assigned. (Discipline, Par. 160-164.) As an election to the office of bishop does not come within the provisions of any of these four ways, an election to such office does not terminate membership in an Annual Conference.

2. Having accepted an office incompatible with the office of bishop, which acceptance *ipso facto* was a relinquishment of the office of bishop, Bishop Oldham came under the purview of Par. 159, which gives him the privilege of selecting membership in any Annual Conference, such selection to be approved by the bishops.

3. While the election to the office of bishop does not terminate membership in an Annual Conference, a bishop, so long as he continue in office, is amenable to the General Conference, which amenability supersedes for the time being that of his amenability to the Annual Conference in which his membership resides.

During his incumbency of his office of bishop he can exercise only such rights as are compatible with said office, and may not engage the rights of a member of an Annual Conference which are incompatible therewith. As to such matters, his connection with his Annual Conference is in suspension while occupying the episcopal office.

If Bishop Oldham ceased to be a member of an Annual Conference when he was elected to the episcopacy, then he ceased also to be a traveling preacher; for under the rule of the General Conference, made in 1872 (Journal, page 442), all members of the church who are not members of the Annual Conference are laymen. (Journal, 1912.)

To this decision of the Judiciary and the reasons for the same which have no support in the custom, history or law of our church, but on the contrary are opposed to them and all sound principles of interpretation and judicial pleading, we enter a formal dissent. The Judiciary, it will be observed, does not produce a single case in the entire history of our church, now existing nearly one hundred and fifty years, to confirm its opinion, nor does it cite any law or any precedent near or remote for its judgment. It is therefore our purpose to analyze these alleged reasons, which are the only supports of this decision offered by the

Judiciary, in order to discover their validity for so momentous a decision in the history of our episcopacy.

First Reason. The first and most obvious comment on this reason is that it begs the question. By arbitrarily excluding what would be destructive of its theory it includes only what is necessary to it. It therefore assumes, first, the number of ways only by which membership in an Annual Conference may be terminated and on that assumption draws the conclusion that because election to the episcopacy is not mentioned in the Discipline as among that number, the election of a member of an Annual Conference to the episcopacy does not terminate his membership in the Annual Conference. This is the conclusion from such a premise. Grant the premise, the conclusion follows, but such reasoning as this cannot be taken seriously. How utterly fallacious it is in the light of the Discipline will be seen at once if it is applied to a perfectly parallel case. For example: According to the Discipline there are only four ways by which membership in the local church can be terminated: (1) by death, (2) expulsion, (3) withdrawal, (4) removal. Now, since neither reception on trial nor election to full membership in an Annual Conference is mentioned among these ways, therefore a minister in an Annual Conference does not lose his membership in the local church to which he originally belonged when he joins the Conference. Can any one pick a flaw in this logic? But will any one in Methodism accept such a conclusion? And yet if the reasoning of the Judiciary in the decision before us in the case of a bishop be correct, by what possible mental gymnastics can such a conclusion be avoided? Try as one may, twist, turn or evade, there is no possible way by any rational process of escaping the tightening coils of that conclusion. For, in order to demonstrate further the illogical character of the Judiciary's reasoning, let it be granted that, in some dim, abstract way, a member of an Annual Conference does retain membership in a local church, when that church has ceased to exist to what local church does he then belong while yet holding membership in the Annual Conference? Or, suppose a minister from some other denomination who has never been a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church is admitted by direct action

(¶ 165, § 3), as is done every year, into an Annual Conference, to what local church or charge does he belong at that time?

It is necessary only to show by such practical illustration the erroneous character of that kind of reasoning which by assuming the thing to be proved, makes a bishop a member of an Annual Conference because the Discipline does not expressly exclude him. The Discipline does not exclude him because it never included him.

Second Reason. The first comment on this "reason" is that it is not a "reason." A reason is something viewed as a rational explanation, it is the "why" of a thing as in 1 Pet. 3. 15, "Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you." But this "reason" of the Judiciary is not an explanation, argument, proof or reason for the decision demonstrating, supporting, or rationally explaining it. It is nothing more or less than a declaration or statement. Now a statement may be correct or incorrect, but it is not in itself a reason for itself. It must have something outside of itself to support it, and whatever does that is a reason. The statement that a bishop's office is incompatible with some other office is simply a declaration and does not in any way show the connection between that fact and the decision that a bishop is a member of an Annual Conference.

Our second comment is that this "reason" in no way serves the purpose for which it was introduced. It was presented to support the decision that a bishop is a member of an Annual Conference. It essays to do this by stating that a bishop on resigning the episcopacy "comes under the purview of ¶ 159 (168) which gives him the privilege of selecting membership in any Annual Conference, such selection to be approved by the bishops." Very good. But if on resignation he is to select a Conference *where* was his Conference membership while still a bishop and *before* he resigned the episcopacy?

One may well challenge even the statement itself that a bishop resigning from his office falls under the purview of ¶ 159 (168). There are only two ways known to disciplinary law by which a member of one Annual Conference can become a member of

another Annual Conference. These are either (1) by transfer or (2) by presentation of credentials. A bishop having resigned his office must therefore do either one or the other, he must be (1) transferred or (2) he must apply for admission on his credentials. But he cannot be transferred, since his name is not in the minutes of any Annual Conference in the Methodist Episcopal Church from which he can be transferred. He must therefore be admitted on his credentials. In any event the forced efforts to justify a decision which was never heard of in Methodism, and is not derived by any logical process of construction of any law, rule, or custom in the Methodist Church, may well be challenged by those who do not believe that it is the province of the Judiciary to enact legislation by way of interpretation; especially when invention is substituted for fact and intrepretation is of the invention and not of the fact.

Third Reason. As was remarked of the second "reason" this also does not appear to be a reason, but rather a statement of exceptions, limitations, *obiter dicta,* and is not a reasonable ground or justification for the decision rendered. It needs no argument to show that the statements "While the election to the office of a bishop does not terminate membership in an Annual Conference," "during his incumbency of his office" "his connection with his Annual Conference is in suspense" are certainly not arguments, nor reasons, but comfortably self-complacent declarations and assumptions. From a legal view point they are of no judicial value whatever since, without a scintilla of evidence, it is constantly assumed that a bishop is a member of an Annual Conference.

Further, these so called "reasons" are in no real sense an interpretation or construction of any existing law, written or unwritten. If they are, what law do they interpret? Where can it be found? It is admitted by the Judiciary of 1920 that there is no such law (see Daily Christian Advocate, p. 534, first col., second par.). Recourse then is had to what the Judiciary calls "the unwritten law," but that there is now or ever has been in Methodism an "unwritten law" on this subject, based on long usage and uniform practice, without which there can be no unwritten law, is

also an assumption. With all due respect to the Judiciary, which is worthy of profound consideration not only collectively as one of the highest bodies in the church, but also individually for the eminent ability of its members, we cannot but regard this expedient merely as an invention for the purpose of finding some reasonable ground for a decision which injects something novel and unfounded into our church polity. For when the Judiciary of 1920, in reaffirming the decision of 1912 (Daily Christian Advocate, p. 534), says, "the practice of the church regarding the limitations put upon the episcopal office is almost the only real guidance upon the questions here involved," and that "this unwritten law is summed up in the General Conference of 1912," we are at a loss to understand how a law preventing a bishop from voting or debating in an Annual Conference proves anything beyond that prohibition. That there is an unwritten law that a bishop shall not exercise in an Annual Conference the rights of a member of such Conference is quite true, but what has that to do with the proof that a bishop is a member of an Annual Conference, which is the question and the only question? Obviously there is no connection whatever between the premise and the conclusion.

Fourth Reason. Concerning this "reason" we are reluctantly compelled by the very nature of it to say that, like the previous "reason," it is not a reason such as was to be given in support of the decision. It seems to be rather a defense of, but not a justifying ground for the decision. By presenting an argument in the form of a dilemma which apparently compels admission that a bishop is a member of an Annual Conference or else he is a layman, which every one knows he is not, it assumes that the case is ended and that the decision of the Judiciary is incontrovertible. But such a conclusion would be as illogical as is the dilemma itself, which is no dilemma. Any one can see that the dilemma also assumes the thing to be proved, that is, that on ceasing to be a member of an Annual Conference a bishop ceases to be a traveling preacher. But, first, what evidence is there that a bishop is a member of an Annual Conference? This should be clearly proved first, for how can one cease to be what he never was? And,

secondly, where is the evidence that if he ceases to be a member he ceases in fact to be a "traveling preacher"? There does not appear to be any evidence. The real fact is, on the contrary, that he no more ceases to be a traveling preacher than he ceases to be an elder. He carries up, sums up, both classes in his episcopal office. In their "Notes on the Discipline," written at the request of the Conference of 1796, Bishops Coke and Asbury, after stating that Timothy and Titus were "traveling bishops," declare the practice of our bishops traveling among the people to be the apostolic plan. And the law of the church is that if a bishop "ceases to travel among the people" he shall be brought to trial.

In full justice, however, to the Judiciary it may be contended that the term "traveling preacher" is a technical term and does not apply in the Discipline to a bishop, but only to a member of an Annual Conference. Therefore, if a bishop ceases to be a member of an Annual Conference when elected to the episcopacy, he does cease to be a "traveling preacher," and according to the decision of the General Conference of 1912, he does become a layman. To this reasoning, if it were correct, the obvious reply would be: If he is a layman, then he is not a member of an Annual Conference. But, lest this should seem more like a playful retort than a serious reply, let this be considered that, even if he were a layman in the disciplinary sense, that is, so far as membership in an Annual Conference is concerned, such fact would not prevent him from being a bishop. William Taylor was a delegate from the South India Conference when he was elected to the episcopacy in 1884.

The fact is, the Judiciary in this instance has misinterpreted the word "layman" and misinterpreted the intention of the General Conference of 1872, which established the rule referred to. The General Conference of 1872 never did declare, as this decision says it did, that "all members of the church not members of the Annual Conference are laymen." This is an error. Such a ruling would enmesh us in endless contradictions as to the ministerial status of ordained men who are not members of the Annual Conference, but who are recognized by the church and by all the States in the Union in their marriage laws as true and

lawful ministers. A local deacon or a local elder is not a layman. The church cannot thus stultify itself by playing fast and loose with its most sacred ordinances, the giving and the taking of ministerial ordinations. Happily the church is in no danger of doing so. What the General Conference of 1872 said was not what this decision quotes it as saying, that "All members of the church not members of the Annual Conference are laymen," but this: "Resolved, that in *all matters connected with the election of lay delegates* the word 'laymen' must be understood to include all the members of the church who are not members of the Annual Conferences."

This is a vastly different statement from that made by the Judiciary, and which is made the basis for this decision. By a legal fiction local deacons and elders are considered once only in four years as laymen and this temporarily for a specifically defined purpose, the election of delegates to the General Conference. The moment that purpose is accomplished, they are no longer laymen. They are ministers, and are recognized and acknowledged as such by both church and state.

Having thus shown that the three reasons given for this decision by the Judiciary of 1912, and reaffirmed by that of 1920, are reduced to one, and that that one is not tenable, we may go further from the negative side to the positive and now show that the law and the practice of the church are dead against this decision.

First, what constitutes membership in an Annual Conference? The disciplinary answer would be (1) election, (2) ordination, (3) amenability, (4) right to appointment, (5) right to speak, to vote, and the possession of certain constitutional rights and privileges. Now, has a bishop the right to any of these constituents of membership in an Annual Conference? Is he amenable to an Annual Conference? Has he a right to an appointment? Has he the right to debate, to vote, to be elected delegate to General Conference in an Annual Conference? He has none of these rights. The Discipline declares a bishop is amenable to the General Conference. It declares "he shall travel at large among the people," so he cannot receive an appointment as pastor. He cannot vote.

The General Conference of 1904 declared that "Bishops have no right to vote therein (Annual Conference) under any circumstances" (see Journal p. 514). A bishop cannot be elected to the General Conference (1) because "The General Conference shall be composed of ministerial and lay delegates" chosen from the Annual and Lay Electoral Conferences, in neither of which he has voting membership. (2) He cannot be a *ministerial* delegate since the Discipline declares that such delegates must have been actual, bona-fide members of an Annual Conference four successive years and must be members of the Conference that elected them. He cannot be a *lay* delegate since he is not a layman. All of which shows that the church never considered a bishop to be in any sense a member of an Annual Conference.

But in order to evade these objections, which really destroy every semblance of law or reason underlying this decision, the writers of it invent a novel expedient or theory never heard of in Methodism before, the very words themselves employed to express the new idea being equally new and strange in Methodist nomenclature, namely, that while exercising the office of a bishop the membership of a bishop in an Annual Conference and all his rights and privileges in the same are held *"in suspenso,"* in suspense, and may be resumed for cause.

But *who* says this membership, these rights, are *suspended?* Not the Discipline from the beginning of Methodism. Not the General Conference for a hundred years. Not any writer on our church history or polity from Jesse Lee in 1810 to this present hour. Even now *"in suspenso"* is declared with the charming naïveté of one seemingly innocent of the fact that, before one's rights are suspended, it must be clearly shown that he ever had them. In this case no evidence has been presented to show that a bishop, as a bishop, ever held such rights.

The General Conference of 1904 positively declared that a bishop was not a member of the Annual Conference. A tie vote having been given in a certain case in an Annual Conference, the bishop presiding gave the casting vote in the affirmative and declared the motion carried. The case having been appealed the General Conference adopted the judgment of the Judiciary

Committee which declared, "Second, That the bishop erred in voting in the case, as the *bishops are not members of the Annual Conference,* and have no right to vote therein under any circumstances"—Journal, 1904, p. 514. (Italics mine.)

Then again, in his Constitutional and Parliamentary History, p. 216, Dr. Buckley, in dealing with the case of Bishop Hamline, says: "His resignation divested Leonidas Lent Hamline of the title and authority of General Superintendent, and as he *had lost his membership in the Ohio Conference when he was ordained bishop,* he now became simply a local preacher and so described himself a short time after his resignation." Bishop Hamline therefore did not drop back into Annual Conference membership, which this decision says was suspended during his term of episcopal office. In a letter to his friend the Rev. Dr. Swormstedt, immediately after his resignation had been accepted, he says, "I am now a 'local preacher.' "

When in 1844 the General Conference suspended Bishop Andrew, or, as the Church South says, deposed him, because he could not officiate as a general superintendent, did he drop back into suspended Annual Conference relations? No one ever dreamed of such a thing. His name was to be retained in the Hymn Book and Discipline and he was to be allowed to do such work as might be congenial to him.

It has now been shown from our history and our law that this decision is erroneous and has no foundation in either one or the other. But in order that there may be no residuum of doubt left, let us ask, When did this new law begin? It certainly began some time, somewhere. But *when* and *where?* Does it attach itself to whoever is elected to the episcopacy? Or is it retroactive law? But *when* was it made a law, and *when* retroactive? No one will imagine it to be a retroactive law. Is it then inherent in the episcopacy? If so, to what Conference in America did Bishop Coke belong? None. To what Conference did Bishop Asbury belong? None. To what Conference did Bishop McKendree belong? To the Western Conference. But when the Western Conference was broken up into several Conferences to which one did he then belong? None. These were all bishops,

but none of them as bishops ever belonged to any Conference. How then could they fall back upon any "suspended" rights in an Annual Conference? If they did not, when did any other bishop since their day begin to do so?

Here we rest the case. Other questions force themselves to the front, such as, since a bishop is not a member of any local church, nor of an Annual Conference, nor of the General Conference, where is his membership? A question which is easily answered by asking a similar question concerning the membership in the church of a traveling preacher, keeping in the mind the distinction between official membership and personal membership. But large space has been already given to the main question, and from the decision of the Judiciary upon that question with the law and the testimony before us we appeal to the larger and higher tribunal of the church.

R. J. Cooke

CHILDHOOD RELIGION

An English scientist recently published a list of nineteenth century discoveries in which he mentioned many that were important, but omitted the greatest of them all—the discovery of the child. The real discoverer in this province was Christ, for he it was who set the child in the midst. Our modern finding of the child and our recent revaluation of the possibilities of childhood religion are but a rediscovery of what Christ disclosed long ago. He set the child in the midst, and we are beginning to do likewise. In the midst of artists, of poets, of psychologists and, above all, in the midst of the church is the child of to-day. The Sunday school, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the Student Volunteer Movement, the Centenary, and kindred crusades, and in fact most of the greatest religious movements of the time have grown out of the awakening consciousness of the church that young life is the chief objective and major hope of the plan of salvation. The preeminent business of the church is not to save souls alone but to save lives, that these lives in turn may represent life-investments for the kingdom. The conquests and successes of the church are directly in proportion to her knowledge of the value of the child and her practical wisdom in relating the child to all kingdom concerns.

The immediate past reveals many dark pages in the history of the church with respect to childhood. Even as recently as a century ago the church had little faith in the possibility of an intelligent Christian life by a child as a child. Dr. E. N. Kirk was born in 1802. Later in life he thanked God that the "dark days of his childhood were passed, passed forever those days when indoctrination and restraint were the highest aims of parents, preachers and teachers." Dr. Doddridge, a foremost worker of his day for children, speaking in a published sermon of a child of five years, coolly remarked: "Without a miracle it cannot be expected that much of the Christian scheme should be understood by these little creatures, in the first dawning of reason, though a few evan-

gelical phrases may be taught to them, and sometimes, by a happy kind of accident, may be rightly applied." Bishop Thoburn, in his Life of Isabella Thoburn, says that she did not enter the church until she was nineteen years of age. But this, he says, was not so much due to herself as to the mistaken notions in the church at that period. He adds that during the time of her childhood there was probably not a communicant in the three churches of St. Clairsville under sixteen years of age. He gives it, however, as his own conviction that there is not an hour in a human life when it is impossible for that life to serve God. If we are interested in the bringing in of a great outburst of the higher life and in a positive advance of the kingdom of God we must give attention to a revival of the spiritual faculty and of the higher religious sentiments, and how can we reach these results if not through the children? They must not be allowed to drift into sin nor to grow up moral and religious weaklings. In the main the point is to-day conceded that the child can and ought to be religious. And yet the work of adjustment is only accomplished in part. Our creeds seem to be meant for adults rather than for children. Our worship as a rule is not planned for children. This is equally true of our evangelism. Methodism has finally a simplified form of ritual for the receiving of children into the church. In the mind of this writer the simplified form ought to be used for everybody, and the baptismal ritual and other statements of profession and creed ought to be made far more simple and less technical. Evangelism, as it is being advocated in many sections in the Methodist Centenary campaign and elsewhere, is primarily of the adult type, calculated for the hardened sinner, in spite of the admission and claim that the major portion of our converts must be from among the children. In the large it would seem to be true that even the leadership of the church have not thought their way through the basic questions involved in childhood religion nor arrived at any common understanding as to how educational and cultural evangelism are to relate themselves to the popular evangelistic appeal.

Our methods of religious work and type of religious appeal are of necessity largely determined by our point of view regarding the child. If we regard him as belonging to Satan, and later

to be reclaimed, that calls for one type of work. If he is merely negative, like an unsown field, that calls for another type. If he belongs to God, and is to be kept in the Kingdom and led into the conscious acceptance of its obligations and privileges, that calls for another type. Martineau based his system of religion and ethics upon the innate goodness of human nature. He took a position exactly opposite to the current teaching of his day as expressed in the dogma of original sin. To him the child was God's offspring, with a native sense of right and wrong. He held that if the young are only offered the highest and best they will act upon it. In place of the suppressive and negative treatment of human nature he substituted the positive treatment, giving free play to what he deemed to be the inherent virtues. With some modifications Horace Bushnell followed up this line in his teachings on Christian nurture. It has been the problem of the church to know how to conserve the truth in the older teaching and yet sufficiently recognize the elements of truth in the newer. Methodism since the earliest days of her history has given considerable attention to childhood religion, and particularly in recent years has been passing through a noticeable process of evolution in her effort to preserve and find expression for a vital experience of conversion in terms of a religion normal to the child nature, and to relate this to a cultural program of Christian nurture such as would properly recognize the continuous unfolding process in the developing religious life of childhood. The age that formed the setting of early Methodism was rather too dark and gloomy to admit of making religion bright and attractive enough to appeal to childhood. Wesley himself could not quite understand why his school for boys could not succeed on the basis of rising at five o'clock in the morning and the exclusion of all play. The whole of our early church procedure was too largely built upon the attempt to produce adult experiences in the lives of children. Over against this is a danger too prevalent in our modern life of paying little or no attention to childhood experience beyond the formality of uniting with the church. Methodism was right in her insistence upon early attention to religion for the child, and in her desire to make that religion vital and dynamic in the life. In our modern study

we have been able to clear up many difficulties in regard to the type of religious life and experience that is normal to the child. The place of play in the life of the child is recognized as never before, and with our better understanding of the child nature our ideas of childhood depravity and perversity have been set in a new light. The problem has become one of new birth into the higher kingdoms of life and spiritual understanding. This is, on the one hand, a matter of nurture and training. On the other hand it admits of crises. Even sharp crises are normal to childhood and youth, not so much on the basis of turning from known transgression, though this may be a factor, as on the basis of individual decision and personal commitment to Christ and to the unfolding demands of the higher life. In short, childhood normally experiences "a birth through self-surrender into a realm of spiritual insight and devotion." Nor does this in any sense require for its fullest and noblest meaning the tragedy of years spent in sin, so pathetically told in the lines of Carl Werner:

I called the boy to my knee one day,
And I said: "You're just past four;
Will you laugh in that same light-hearted way
When you're turned, say, thirty more?"

Then I thought of a past I'd fain erase—
More clouded skies than blue—
And I anxiously peered in his upturned face,
For it seemed to say:
"Did you?"

I touched my lips to his tiny own
And I said to the boy: "Heigh-ho!
Those lips are as sweet as the hay new-mown;
Will you keep them always so?"
Then back from those years came a rackish song—
With a ribald jest or two—
And I gazed at the child who knew no wrong,
And I thought he asked:
"Did you?"

I looked in his eyes, big, brown and clear,
And I cried: "Oho, boy of mine!
Will you keep them true in the after-year?
Will you leave no heart to pine?"

Then out of the past came another's eyes—
Sad eyes of tear-dimmed blue—
Did he know they were not his mother's eyes?
For he answered me:
"Did you?"

Thomas Hood has expressed in familiar lines what tells all too well the sad experience of far too many lives:

I remember, I remember
The fir-trees dark and high:
I used to think their slender tops
Were close against the sky.
It was a childish ignorance,
But now 'tis little joy
To know I'm farther off from heaven
Than when I was a boy.

If the processes of religion have right of way at the right time in the normal unfolding of the child life, in its outreach after God, such experiences would never be. If human development were normal, and the Godward response in the child were elicited as rapidly as the God-consciousness was produced, there would be little need of conversion in the sense of a turning around, or of a turning away from the old life toward God, for in that case we should never have turned away from him. "We should simply pass from the unconsciousness and passivity of dawning life to the distinct consciousness and volitional attitude of mature life." The necessity of conversion, in the sense of the beginning of self-consciousness in religion, the personalizing of duty, and the definite acceptance of Christ and Christian obligation for one's self, remains as the preeminent factor in normal childhood conversion. Such conversion is universally needful in childhood. In so far as childhood conversion is needful, in the sense of turning from sin—conscious sinning and a wicked life—to God, it raises the question of parental and church failure in the effort to bring up the child in the way in which he should go. The beginning of this failure is quite likely to go back to very early childhood; for the beginning of a child's religion goes back to the prayers at mother's knee, to the atmosphere of the home, the earliest associations of the church, and all those other agencies through which there work the hidden

influences of the Spirit. Our failure with the child begins early and so must our success. In the home you cannot tell when love and obedience begin, and so it is in the religious life of a child. But unless there is something fatally wrong it does begin, it grows, it develops, until in the normal processes of that development the child discovers himself in the relationships of his religious life through the choosing for himself the filial spirit toward God as the ruling principle of his life and action. The earlier emphasis was upon an "experience," before children could be regarded as among the "saved." The psychology and theology of the whole matter as taught were doubtless at fault, and often did violence to the child nature in a form of forced conversion that had little relation to the actual condition or normal needs of childhood. The deeper problem, however, is still the same, to lead the child into a personal relationship of love, honor, and joyful obedience to God. Our clearer understanding of the nature of the child and of child experience ought to put us in a better way to reach this vital objective in childhood religion. If we fail in this our gain in knowledge will be but a missing of the mark in the practical outcome. The Methodist Church has recognized its obligation to childhood not only in the baptism of children but in the making of baptized children "probationers under the special care and supervision of the church." This should make it the more probable that the church will not fail in her duty to "train them toward the goal of an inner experience of God's love." It is the effort of the church to make the religious nurture of childhood a continuous process, beginning at the cradle, continuing through all the various stages of its normal unfolding, and issuing in personal decision and definite religious life, and then continuing still in yet larger and fuller growth toward maturity in Christian character.

Along with the steadfast purpose to have the religious life of the child personalized and vitalized by the presence and power of the Spirit, there needs to be intelligent and purposeful guidance to the end that the child's religion may be natural and normal to the child. One of the most common mistakes in teaching and practice is to demand of the child a type of religion possible only to mature life. Many a child has heard adults tell thrilling experi-

ences of their conversion or later walk with God, and sought for himself an experience run in the same mold and expressing itself in the same manner. In this forced and unnatural process is the danger of acting a part in religion. Fortunate is the child who is early taught that to get his will into right relations to God and his purposes, and to daily be obedient to the heavenly vision that calls to clean and noble living, are the vital things. The child will many times be conscious of the need of forgiveness, but terrible agonizing before God in his search for forgiveness and the type of experience that often follows in the case of the hardened sinner are not likely to be normal to the simple faith and trusting heart of childhood. We create an artificiality in spiritual life when we try to force upon the young the depravity of abandoned sinners. Children may repeat the phrases but they cannot have the experience that is unnatural to them. Naturalness must be the touchstone in a child's religion. His religion must fit itself naturally to him and be in perfect harmony with his nature and his needs. You cannot cut over a man's religion, as you would an old coat, and make it fit a child. Everything of any moral worth in a child's religion is his own, and his religion is his own, and no science of religion can get far that does not recognize the child consciousness as being as truly distinctive as the adult consciousness. We ought to be glad that the sense of sinfulness and depravity possible to the reprobate is impossible to the child, and that a child can have a religion that is his very life and not merely something that he has to wear. A child's religion may not have as much to do with getting him out of sin as it does with keeping him from going into sin. It is not of necessity the less vital and valuable on that account. With sane and intelligent influence and guidance in the religious life of childhood you can trust the child to see things straight on the level of the child's mind, and to have a conscience sensitive, unsophisticated, tender, and responsive to the higher and divine leading. In these things you can count upon him for the evidences of true conversion and genuine Christian life.

One is never too young to be a Christian. There is no such thing as being outlawed from the kingdom of God by virtue of youthfulness or lack of years. It was the teaching of Jesus that

the kingdom of God belongs to little children. Why not expect children to remain in the kingdom from infancy, thus making each successive step, not a step into the Christian life, but a step within the Christian life? True there are evil tendencies seen in children even before they have developed moral judgment, tendencies which if unchecked and unconquered will result in bad character and life. But if there are evil tendencies there is also a continuous corrective in divine help and grace through the presence of the Divine Spirit; a corrective that does not work upon the basis that one must become sufficiently old and sufficiently bad before he is old enough and bad enough to begin to be made good. Why not spend a little more time in seeing that the child is not converted away from God? It is highly important to give the child himself the right idea as to his relation to the Kingdom. To give the child the impression that he is too young to be a Christian or to join the church virtually means to surrender him to the devil until we think he is old enough to be reclaimed. Many a tragedy has come to innocent, aspiring child life because the child was made to feel that he was too young to be recognized as God's child. And if he sometimes does or says what is not right he should not be called a miserable sinner unless his parents and religious teachers are measured by the same standard. Augustine well said: "Elder folks' idleness is called business; that of boys, being really the same, is punished by those elders; and none commiserates either boys or men." We are not assuming too much when we proceed upon the belief that from the very beginning the child is God's child. There is a world of truth in those lines of John T. McFarland:

> They are clear, the eyes of a child,
> Clear as the blue of the sky;
> No marks of a spirit assoiled
> In their limpid azure lie.

We are told that among some of the tribes of American Indians early training in manners and religion was faithfully practiced. The smallest children were drilled in courtesy, chiefly by the mother. They were taught to regard with reverence the Great Spirit and to be conscious of his presence. Even the custom of asking the Great Spirit's blessing upon the food

was observed by some tribes. Many objects in earth, air and water were deified and held in sacred adoration. This religious instruction among the children was started at three or four years and was often pursued with persistence and energy. We need to begin at yet more tender years, even at birth, and continue with a vigilance that shall never cease. There is an epoch of childhood extending from about six to eight years when the child needs, as at no other time, the appeal to authority. His spiritual life is very largely what the parent and others make it. It is like a little cup brimming over with the water of life. It is easily filled by those who stand in place of God and it is easily spilled. It may be a very little cup but it is a cup full, and there is ready response as the child drinks in to its full capacity all that is freely offered. Then there comes the transition period, from about eight to twelve years of age, when "right and wrong are passing from mere rules into principles of action," and religion has in it dawning possibilities of a personal divine life within us here and now. Then there comes yet another period, usually from about twelve to sixteen years of age, and commonly known as the period of adolescence. Where in these various stages of childhood and youth ought conversion, in the sense defined or described, to be reached? Doubtless something will depend upon the conditions to which the child is subjected. In many places there is a tendency to stress the conversion of adults, nor is the pastor guiltless in this matter. If the pastor and church are wise in heeding the call of ten or fifteen years hence they will major on reaching the children now. This may not bring as large immediate returns to the church treasury, but it will save the church of to-morrow, and anyhow it is due the children. If those responsible for the religious life of a child expect and work toward the child's conversion at the earliest period possible the child's conversion will very probably be at an earlier period than would otherwise be possible. Christian nurture very largely determines the religious life of a child, and may even hasten the time of and give character to the child's conversion. The father of John Wesley was very particular concerning the requirements made of those who were to receive communion, but he allowed John to do so at the age of eight years. This was a

significant recognition of intelligent Christian life at an early age. John Wesley was a child like other children. He was often conscious of wrong doing, and freely came to God for forgiveness, just as he would come to his mother. Wesley did pass, however, from the stage of childhood piety to that of boyhood independence and willfulness. With this there came a loss of the consciousness of divine favor. He was like the little boy who, after doing wrong, said, "I have lost the happy out of my heart." Then there followed a new crisis in his experience at the age of twenty-two. And even this was not the last distinct crisis. Polycarp was converted at nine years, Matthew Henry at eleven, President Edwards at seven, Dr. Watts at nine, Bishop Hall at seven, and Robert Hall at twelve. John Woolman, in his Journal, said: "Before I was seven years old I began to be acquainted with the operations of divine love." In Iowa a boy of fourteen years came unnoticed to the altar. A poor woman who saw him there, neglected, came and prayed with him. That boy became Bishop McCabe. At a camp meeting in northern New York a small boy was converted. The people voted the meeting a failure, saying, "Nobody converted but a little boy." That boy was John Dempster, whose name afterward thrilled the continent of South America as he laid the foundations of Methodism, writing new Acts of the Apostles like a modern Saint Paul. Jesus declared himself to be about his Father's business at twelve and finished his work at thirty-three. Saul officially witnessed the stoning of Stephen at twenty-seven, and soon afterward was sent to the Gentiles. Timothy was converted at fourteen, and was assistant to Paul at eighteen. Judson was called to be a missionary at twenty-two, Morrison at twenty-two, Livingstone at twenty-one, and Thoburn at seventeen. Stanley Hall said that Moody thought that most conversions occur between the ages of ten and twenty. He said also that Dr. Pentecost, from an extensive experience of thirty years, declared that three fourths of all conversions occur between the ages of twelve and twenty, that very few are converted after thirty years of age, and that the best after results in life and service are to be found in those who are converted early. Another authority tells us that less than five per cent of those who leave college unconverted ever become Christians.

The more scientific methods of modern psychologists have contributed with more definiteness and accuracy to our knowledge of the time of conversion, but with no very special change in the conclusions already reached through general observation and experience. Professor Coe found that of 1,794 men the largest number of conversions took place at sixteen; 13 per cent took place under twelve years; 16 per cent over twenty; and 71 per cent between twelve and twenty. Starbuck sets it down as a law that there are two tidal waves of religious awakening among females—a greater wave from thirteen to sixteen, and a lesser wave at eighteen. It is not improbable that these results are based in considerable degree upon cases influenced by certain conventional ideas as to how and when to become religious. To what extent they would be modified if all the persons concerned had been influenced and guided from infancy by more normal methods is at the present stage of our study problematical. It would seem to be true that the average age of conversion as we now conceive it can be considerably reduced, and that this in turn will tend to make conversion less of an outstanding crisis. Conversion is like crossing a river. Follow far enough up the stream and it is only a step across, and if you go far enough back toward its sources you may even pass from bank to bank without knowing it. Far down the stream it is very different. A man at last wakes up and says: "I must cross the river." He plunges in, struggles desperately, and comes out drenched and panting. But with all his heroic struggle and furor he is only just across, the same as the other who profited by the strategy of the situation in crossing farther up. We may count that man a hero who yields late in life to some extraordinary appeal, and may regard his as the greater conversion, but the larger advantage is on the side of the child who continuously yields to the atmosphere and influences that make for the unfolding and stimulation of the spiritual life and ultimately for the conscious, purposeful, intelligent espousal of that life as one's very own. The time, and definiteness in the consciousness of the experience of conversion, will also depend to some extent on temperamental considerations. We are in danger of overlooking this in the child even while granting it in the case of the adult. One's relation to con-

version and the religious life might be compared to learning to swim. A great deal depends on the attitude and temperament of the swimmer. One plunges in. There is a quick, outstanding, definite decision with regard to the whole matter. Another wades in. He is deliberate, and cautious, and goes step by step. Another runs out a short distance and then returns, but continues to run a little farther each time until at last he swims off. There are many haltings and changes of mind, but they lead at last to final decision. Another is forced in. He may remain and at last find himself and come to like it, or he may struggle and ultimately get out. Another seems to do little more than to sit down on the beach, and allow the tide to come up about him until at last it floats him off. By not resisting he accepts the situation and it becomes a matter of his own choice. For childhood conversion we must allow the whole range of difference in type due to temperament and training that the psychology of religious life and experience has led us to accept in the case of the adult.

However early it may be possible to develop self-consciousness in religion, and a more or less clearly-defined religious experience in the form of "a birth through self-surrender into a realm of spiritual insight and devotion," it would still seem to be true that the period of adolescence affords unusual and normal opportunity for epochal experience and progress in the Christian life. In adolescence physical, mental, and spiritual awakenings crowd upon childhood a new world of social and moral possibility and responsibility. Ideas spring up with a startling rapidity and vigor, ideals are born with attachments to new causes and persons, and passionate loyalties are espoused that mean the remaking of the life. It is a time of moral activity and ideals. One of its peculiarities is the tendency to crises. Moral influences bear down sometimes to the point of depression. "It is the focal point of all psychology." There is a new physical birth. Along with the physical awakening there comes a psychical awakening, which makes new and deeper religious experience not only normal but almost a natural necessity. There is general mental fermentation, with "definite tendencies toward sociality, intellectual independence, a sense of duty and destiny, self-consciousness, and appreciation of the true, the beauti-

ful and the good." There is the assertion of personal power in the use of the will, a sense of responsibility that cries "I must," and a purposefulness in self-determining goodness. It is the personalizing of religion that is now going on by leaps and bounds. Definite religious change is not only normal, but the lack of it is abnormal. Without such religious change there is failure to satisfy the new demands of the rapidly unfolding life. Failure of this sort means lack of symmetry in the new life at the very time that life is taking form most speedily. Adolescence is the time of all times to deepen the personal realization of the content of religion. The central fact of normal adolescence is the change from an imitative type of religion, that accepts all upon authority, to a personal and energized form. There is a bursting forth into the consciousness of spiritual things. There is a new and enlarged sense of divine help and of union with God, a pushing out into the God-consciousness. When the inner life is thus crying out with new demands, longings and aspirations, and the secret depths of being are in upheaval, then the church has at once its greatest problem and supreme opportunity if it is to turn to largest account for the child and for itself the strategy of the situation.

The bearing of all this upon the program of the church as touching the child is most important. Among the various considerations in the construction of such a program these are basic and fundamental. The child must not be thought of as nor led to feel that he is a child of the devil. He becomes a sinner condemned when at accountable age he pulls away from God and chooses for himself the path of the wayward child. The child is to be taught that he belongs to God, and is not to be permitted to go the way of evil until a certain age before we try to convert him or think of him as religious. Without regard to age he is to have his place in baptism, at the holy communion, and in the associations and fellowship of the church. He is always old enough to be one of God's flock, and when the urgency of choice is incumbent upon him let it be a choice to stay in the Kingdom rather than to get in. This does not mean that the child is all right as he is, or that without divine help and human nurture he will grow up a man of God by merely natural processes. It does mean that he is God's child

with capacity for spiritual things, and that the child personality can be led to normally unfold into the divine meaning of life throughout the successive phases of its growing consciousness. The child is to be converted, but it is to be conversion normal to childhood, and not adult conversion. The major emphasis will be on personal commitment to Christ and his way for our lives, and the process will be that of unfolding, development, and spiritual awakening unto a sense of the divine in the life and unto a personal assumption of Christian obligation. Our program will provide for and expect crises along the way. It will not repudiate nor disparage the child's earlier religious life in order to be able to classify and label as conversion any crisis passed through in adolescence or subsequent life. It will see the child's religious life whole, and not be too much concerned over the classification of the parts if only the child, by human nurture and divine power, can be brought out into a large place in spiritual life and usefulness. The religious worker for to-day will understand childhood and the psychology of the child's religious life. He will be quick to recognize the various phases in the growing consciousness of the divine meaning of life, and also the epochal significance of adolescence, not as the beginning of religion in a child but as a new stage big with meaning in spiritual awakening and the personalizing of religion. Adolescence is the normal time for spiritual happenings that are a challenge, not to begin, but to go on faster and farther in the Christian life. The religious guide and teacher will give special attention to cultivation and awakening of the sense of the divine, and will not himself regard, nor allow the child to regard, life with God and in God as a mere human process. At the same time he will see that there is a normal human process for the working of the divine power and purpose in the child's life. That human process will utilize largely the educational and cultural method in a religious nurture that is shot through with the evangelical passion and objective. The constant, careful, purposeful striving that sees clearly the goal and the scope of the task is likely to be more fruitful in genuinely spiritual values in the life of the child than are ordinary evangelistic methods, particularly when such methods are employed in a mixed audience with adapta-

tion chiefly to adult life. No evangelistic appeal, even though it be declared to result in conversion of the child and proves to be truly epochal in spiritual significance, should be considered an end in itself, but only an important incident along the way in the child's religious life. Because of such experience, with its larger unfolding of the meaning and responsibilities of life and its aroused and awakened spiritual sensibilities, the child is not in less need, but in more, of being carefully led and faithfully taught. We are never through with the task merely because the child is converted; we are merely set to a new and advanced phase of the task. The obligations that are upon the church with respect to childhood religion are of the type that are forever and ever, world without end, but they are the most winning and fruitful field of all the church's endeavor.

S. Arthur Cook

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

When Lowell died, at the age of seventy-two, Oliver Wendell Holmes, who lacked but a few days of completing his eighty-second year, addressed to his memory the beautiful poem beginning, "Thou shouldst have sung the swan song for the choir"—for Lowell was the youngest of the immortal New England group of poets. Bryant is often counted with these, but he was considerably older, did not have much association with the others, and lived a large part of his life in New York. But Longfellow, Emerson, Whittier, Holmes, and Lowell all seem to belong to Boston, and all but Whittier to Harvard. Lowell was not only the youngest of the group but he had the shortest life. Longfellow went at seventy-five, Emerson at almost seventy-nine, and all the others passed four-score. It was left for Holmes to sing the swan song, although Whittier survived Lowell more than a year. When Holmes passed away, in 1894, the wondrous group was gone and we may well doubt if America will ever see such another. It would be very hard to say which of them was the greatest, but few, if any, would be willing to say that Lowell was the least. He might be surpassed in philosophic power by Emerson, in amount of beautiful verse by Longfellow, and in some particular by each of the rest, but in one respect he was the greatest: his versatility made him the most typical American of them all. He was lawyer, editor, professor, poet, essayist, critic, reformer, politician, diplomatist.

James Russell Lowell was born at Cambridge, Mass., on February 22, Washington's birthday, in 1819, in a house called Elmwood, about half a mile from the Cragie or Longfellow House and from that "house with a gambrel roof" where Holmes first saw the light, and on August 12, 1891, he died in the same house. Like Emerson and Holmes, he was the son of a clergyman, of "the Brahmin caste," as Holmes puts it. The family has always been of note in Massachusetts, giving their name to a great manufacturing city and furnishing a considerable number of men of at least local fame. The poet's brother, Robert Traill Spence, was

an Episcopal clergyman, a novelist, a poet, and a college professor. His nephew, Charles Russell, a gallant soldier in the Civil War, married a sister of Colonel Robert Shaw, fell at Cedar Creek, and is touchingly commemorated in his uncle's verse. To-day the president of Harvard University worthily maintains the family traditions.

Lowell entered Harvard before he was sixteen and graduated at nineteen in the class of 1838. He was only a fair student, but read very widely and showed such a talent for verse that he was made class poet. For several years after his graduation he was apparently trying to find himself. He was admitted to the bar, but never really devoted himself to the law. His bent was decidedly toward literature. He was greatly encouraged and uplifted by his love for Maria White, who became his wife in 1844. She was a beautiful woman, of much literary ability and an ardent champion of great moral reforms. Her influence undoubtedly had much to do with her husband's anti-slavery principles and poems. They had four children, three of whom died very young. One daughter survived both parents. Mrs. Lowell died in 1853 and Lowell afterward married Frances Dunlap, who made him a happy home until her death in England in 1885. In 1855 Lowell was chosen to take Longfellow's place as a Harvard professor and he held that chair until 1877. For two years he was editor of the Atlantic Monthly, its first editor, and for ten years he was one of the editors of the North American Review. In 1877 his interest in politics of the best type was recognized by his appointment as minister to Spain. In 1880 he was transferred to England and represented his country there until 1885. The rest of his life was passed in miscellaneous literary and public work.

Unless it were in his youthful attempts at the law, Lowell never failed in anything, but he was much more of a success in some things than in others. In his work as editor and professor there was nothing outstanding. So far as that was concerned he might be just one of the thousands of men who have done good work and helped the intellectual development of others, but he deserves special study in three aspects: as public man, as critic, and as poet. Of course the literary element pervaded everything.

In his youth he satirized himself in the couplet, in "A Fable for Critics,"

> "There is Lowell, who's striving Parnassus to climb
> With a whole bunch of *isms* tied together with rhyme."

In 1877 he was not interested in a certain diplomatic appointment which was suggested to him as possible, but plaintively remarked that he *would* enjoy using the library at Madrid, so he was appointed to Spain. Behind the humor of these things lies the fact that he could not get away from either literature or politics. He could, and frequently did, bury himself in his library for days at a time, but some good cause, some public duty, some moral reform, was sure to call him out. His anti-slavery work was of great importance and much of his poetry was concerned with the various matters connected with that struggle, culminating perhaps in the Lincoln passage of his Commemoration Ode, and his essays or speeches on public matters (one hardly knows which to call them) offered to his countrymen a better wisdom than many of them appreciated. His diplomatic career had nothing spectacular nor startling about it, but he worthily represented his nation and gave a noble and dignified tone to his administration of international affairs. A country may be proud when it can send such representatives abroad. Probably the most distinctive thing one can say about Lowell is that he was the greatest literary critic of America. Very few men have been as widely read as he and still fewer have had the exquisite judgment, the artistic recognition of beauty and of power, the honesty of opinion, and the delicate and delicious humor to flavor the whole which appear in the critical writings of Lowell. To quote the titles, "Among My Books" and "My Study Windows," will bring to many delightful memories of the time when Lowell helped them to learn what good literature really was.

And into what odd corners of literature he penetrated. Nothing was too old or too obscure for him. And how he enjoyed his finds. One story for which we have a particular appreciation tells how he sat up all night to read the life of Peter Cartwright and appeared at a friend's in the morning in a state of wild enthusiasm

over the backwoods preacher. The "Fable for Critics" in one sense belongs with Lowell's criticism. It is verse, of course, but it contains the most audacious rhymes ever made by anybody except Robert Browning. It has given us some proverbial characterizations of Lowell's literary contemporaries and most of his judgments are just, if the general opinion of later critics may decide the matter. Probably the opinion most likely to be disputed is that on Poe:

"Three fifths of him genius and two fifths sheer fudge."

But the fudge is there, and as we read Poe we wonder how a man of his transcendent genius ever wrote such stuff as he did at times. Lord Beaconsfield gave us the immortal epigram that the critics are the men who have failed in literature and art. The sneer really has at least this truth, that the gift of doing and the gift of appreciation are not the same. But while Lowell was the greatest American critic he was no contemptible writer in a purely original way. He holds a very honorable rank. Had he written nothing and done nothing except his verse he would have been deservedly immortal.

His first publication was a pamphlet containing his class poem. Then in 1841 he published a volume, entitled "A Year's Life," containing about seventy poems and sonnets. Only two of these seem to have attained that degree of success shown by their being quoted and printed anywhere except in the formal editions of their author's works. One of these is "The Heritage"—"The rich man's son inherits lands"—and the other is entitled "A Parable." It is the story of a prophet who climbs a mountain to seek a revelation and finds it in a flower which he might have seen at home. The poem really should be more familiar than it is. Better and better work appeared, though mixed with things of ambitious mediocrity, and at the age of twenty-five Lowell gave his countrymen a poem almost as much associated with him as "The Raven" is with Poe. One might criticize by calling "The Present Crisis" preaching instead of poetry, but that would rule out much of the world's best poetry. A score of familiar quotations might be easily given, but, in fact, the whole poem is one "familiar quota-

tion." It has always made a special appeal to the young, perhaps because it came from the heart of youth. One looks back to the time when he first found it as to other great experiences. There are many "peaks in Darien" besides the one Keats found when he first saw Homer. Among the many burning words of Lowell one line alone is a psalm, a proverb, a sermon, a poem:

"They enslave their children's children who make compromise with sin."

While Lowell wrote serious and noble verse on the great question of his day, his most famous contribution to the anti-slavery discussion, with its associated topics, is the "Biglow Papers." The astonishing Yankee dialect, the righteous indignation mixed with delightful satire, the humor and pathos, all these show the marvelous power of the writer. Probably no later generation will ever read them as their own did, and we can even imagine philologists being their chief students by and by; but somehow we feel they never ought to be forgotten, and we think that if we can still bear the dialect of Burns we ought not to despise that of Lowell. And this may introduce the statement that one "by-product" of this famous political satire is superior to Burns in his own field. In the midst of his satire Lowell wrote a few verses in the same dialect but of an idyllic character and subsequently expanded them into "The Courtin'." This is the only poem of its kind which has won a sure place in American literature. Burns wrote many love poems in Scottish dialect, but the gay ones are of questionable morality, or worse than questionable, and the pure ones are sad. But Lowell gave us one in the Yankee dialect at once gay and strong, pure and passionate. It seems a great pity that neither he nor anyone else ever did it again.

Lowell's versatility as a poet is shown by the fact that the "Biglow Papers," "A Fable for Critics," and "The Vision of Sir Launfal" all appeared in the same year, 1848. Any one of these would have been a remarkable achievement in a man of twenty-nine years. To produce the three so nearly together is certainly suggestive of genius. The first and second have some resemblances to each other, not in dialect but in wit, fun, and satire, but the third is very different. On the whole we incline to consider "Sir

Launfal" the finest achievement of Lowell in poetry. It may be inferior in dignity to the famous "Commemoration Ode," but it tells a beautiful story with a beautiful moral and it tells it in exquisite verse. Tried by the quotation test it ranks very high:

> "'Tis heaven alone that is given away,
> 'Tis only God may be had for the asking."

> "What is so rare as a day in June?"

> "Who gives himself with his alms feeds three:
> Himself, his hungering neighbor, and me."

The New England poets were all given to the discussion of religious matters, though Whittier is the only one who impresses us as being what is conventionally called a religious man. Lowell's father is commonly called a Unitarian, though one authority declares he would not join either party and tried to hold the balance between the old and the new. But this would inevitably rank him with the liberals. Lowell certainly never had to struggle with the old Calvinism and seems never to have been a controversialist like Holmes. His attitude seems always to be Christian, but he never made personal professions of faith and in later years fell in with "modern" and scientific theories. He was even accused of being an unbeliever, especially with regard to immortality. An Episcopalian clergyman read the burial service at his grave, but some were displeased that a Unitarian did not officiate, declaring that Lowell had never repudiated his father's beliefs. But whatever may have been Lowell's weaknesses of faith and deficiencies of religious experience his writings all have the Christian atmosphere. A peering analytic critic, who will never take orthodoxy for granted but insists it must be actually and definitely expressed, might ask us where Lowell teaches the divinity of Christ, and various other things. But most of us will be very well satisfied with the Christ whose spirit is felt even in the "Biglow Papers,"

> "We kind o' thought Christ went agin war and pillage,"

and who comes in a vision to Sir Launfal,

> "Himself the Gate whereby men can
> Enter the temple of God in man."

We cannot say what doubts of immortality may have come to Lowell in later years, but when his little daughter died he wrote,

> "Immortal? I feel it and know it;
> Who doubts it of such as she?"

And the Palinode of "Auf Wiedersehen" has words which have comforted many bereaved hearts and may well bring to a close our little study of Lowell, trusting that He who deals gently with even a weak faith will at last fulfill the promise of these lines to their author and to us all:

> "Somewhere is comfort, somewhere faith,
> Though thou in outer dark remain;
> One sweet sad voice ennobles death,
> And still, for eighteen centuries, saith
> Softly,—'Auf Wiedersehen!'
>
> "If earth another grave must bear,
> Yet heaven hath won a sweeter strain,
> And something whispers my despair
> That, from an orient chamber there,
> Floats down, 'Auf Wiedersehen!'"

Frank L. Lawrence

DEALING WITH THE UNSPEAKABLE CRIME

If some wild beast of the jungle had stalked his prey along a Kentucky highway and leaped away after leaving the breathless, broken body of a ten-year-old school girl, passionate anger could not have been stirred as it was stirred in this community by a brutal negro committing an assault and murder hardly paralleled in the annals of crime. Though it occurred during the first week of February, and this is being written two weeks later, martial law still prevails in Lexington and the regulars are deployed about the court house.

Little would be accomplished by describing the crime of which Will Locket, in the uniform of a soldier, was guilty; and it is not the purpose of the present writer, who witnessed the mob violence which broke out five days later, to chronicle the events which resulted in the killing of six men and the wounding of some twenty others. The whole State has been stirred, and the tragedy has given rise to much irresponsible talk and some foolish writing. It is with the hope that such scenes may never be repeated that the best men and women are seeking to have constructive measures passed by our State Legislature.

Attempts at lynching in the South center, for the most part, about the unspeakable crimes of degenerate negroes. Unless one actually lives in the South, and that for a period of years, one cannot appreciate the intensity of the passion for vengeance which takes possession of a considerable element of the populace. It is only within the States where such conditions exist that the remedy for lynch law can be found and applied.

An execution by the mob leads inevitably to contempt for law and the courts. When resorted to it is recognized as a necessary evil. It is not, as might be supposed, that men prefer lawlessness. But the law of self-preservation is strong, and the delays and uncertainties of the civil law leave larger loops than the slip-noose of the mob. In fact citizens writing for the public press have objected to the words "mob" and "riots" as used in editorials upon

the Bluegrass tragedy, declaring over their names that the crowd which undertook to execute summary vengeance upon the slayer of little Geneva Hardman was composed of the best citizenry of Kentucky. Not to defend this position, but to show why this point of view is possible, it may be worth while to summarize the chief elements in this deplorable situation.

If it be borne in mind, what the Brooklyn Eagle has stated, that this is the first instance south of the Mason and Dixon line when the mob was stopped by bullets fired by the soldiery, then some courage was required by Governor Morrow, the officials of Fayette County, and the State guards to resist the popular demands, for all knew well the spirit of the populace. From time immemorial there has prevailed over the Southland an unwritten law, or better, a persistent custom, that the brute guilty of rape be tied to a stake and burned, or led to the nearest tree and hanged. The morally indignant people are in no wise delayed by the formality of ceremony.

Despite the published warning of General Deweese that the law in this case would have its way, several thousand citizens gathered in front of the court house, showing at once a temper hostile to the police and soldiers. Evidently many believed that a strong and determined demonstration was all that would be necessary to "overpower" the officials. Some even questioned whether soldiers would shoot down citizens who believed that in taking the miserable prisoner by violence they were only upholding the best traditions of Kentucky and the South. On, on came the misguided and overwrought crowd, a hundred of them overpassing the "dead line," and against command, warning, and patient entreaty pressing up the steps, led by a burly, determined man with a hangman's noose. Then at the last minute the quick command, the fusillade of bullets, and the dead stretched out upon lawn and pavement never to rise! It marked the beginning of a new chapter. The written law had superseded the "unwritten" law.

In considering the Southern attitude toward the unspeakable crime it must not be inferred that the black race sympathizes with one of their number guilty of rape. Their leaders condemn these brutal outrages, not alone because of fear, but with a sense of deep-

est shame. It was the united efforts of white and black men, who followed with relentless pursuit, that led to the capture of this inhuman monster at South Elkhorn. The leading ministers, teachers, and professional men of the colored race published their fiery denunciation of this heinous crime. The moral solidarity of the community gave full notice to all men that whosoever, black or white, commits such a crime will suffer certain death.

Another element not generally understood is the fiery passion with which the typical Southern man protects his wife and children. His chivalry is not a superficial "talking point," but a part of his religion. The women and the children of the South, outside the cities and towns, cannot venture safely a hundred yards from their houses without a protector. This possible danger is never quite absent from the thoughts of the father and husband and brother. As a result, whenever a negro guilty of assaulting a white woman is caught, the pent-up passions of white men are capable of producing a terrific explosion. But the deepest expressions of indignation come from the lips of white women. If the men had not rallied to storm our guarded courthouse there were plenty of women who would have undertaken to force their way. One wonders with a shudder whether the soldiers would have fired into the ranks of determined women. Fortunately they were not compelled to carry their high sense of duty so far.

Primarily the issue involved in the Lexington tragedy is not the negro problem. The summoning of the State troops, and later the calling out of the regulars to the number of eight hundred men, was not to save the life of the colored prisoner. His miserable figure sinks into the background. All right-minded citizens regard his crime with loathing and revulsion, grateful that after a fair trial by jury, he will surely pay for his crime with his life. But the contest between the governing authorities and lawlessness has at the present time a nation-wide significance. One question all the States, North and South, must decide once and for all: Has the government the right and the power to perform the office it was established to perform? When we have dispassionately weighed the worst possible case, and made all possible allowances for vindictive and protective passions and the law's delays, we can

find no place short of anarchy for a mob of angry men and women to tear their guilty victim limb from limb. General Marshall, speaking on the streets of this passion-tossed city the other day, put it in terse, military fashion, "Things are not done that way in this country." There is probably no more momentous struggle going on in the United States in this year of our Lord, 1920, than the struggle to preserve the order and respect of our courts. The first battle of Lexington was for the establishment of liberty; the second "battle" of Lexington was for the vindication of law.

The slow process of the law, no doubt, has been provocative of violence in the case of the crime we are considering. The laws of Kentucky, as of many other States, provide that the prisoner cannot be executed within thirty days of the pronouncement of the death sentence. Ordinarily this would be a wise provision made to permit the submission of new evidence at a second trial. But it furnishes larger opportunity for the escape of a prisoner found guilty and already sentenced. In the case of rape the community is never in a mood to brook delay. A certain element will act upon an ancient belief that if you want a thing well done you should do it yourself. Hence the demand has been made for the citizens to appoint in every community in the State committees of safety. But safety will be found only in having the legally constituted officials of the county execute the laws. A trial in court, giving the defendant the benefit of able, courageous lawyers appointed by the court, with the fixed execution of the criminal resulting from the orderly processes of law—this alone gives enduring stability to society.

If the wheels of justice were thrown into high gear for this particular crime it would be very less frequently committed hereafter, and when it was the people would be satisfied to see the law carried out. Such swift and impressive procedure as they have in Canada has wiped out nine tenths of their crime. Canadian justice is quoted favorably over the civilized world, and if a man would commit murder there he knows he has but thirteen days to live. There are less murders committed in all of Canada than in the one city of Chicago. The mounted police of Canada are more certain than the mob that they will get their man and they are

about as swift. These trained officers know no county lines; they have even slipped over our border to seize a fugitive and have arrested him after taking him back. Some of our States have adopted the Canadian system and the State police forces of Pennsylvania, New York, and Texas have already made life in the rural sections of those States much safer. We may not boast of the majesty of law until every man, woman, and child, the rich and the poor alike, are amply protected under the laws of the country in which they live.

There yet remains in this country a mass of citizenship, reared under vicious influences, that must be Americanized. The churches, schools, and community welfare organizations are the preventative influences that must be relied upon to uplift the moral conditions under which our children are reared. The problem is larger than one State or one race. This negro from Kentucky, who is about to die at thirty-three years of age, merely serves as an illustration. His last statement is suggestive of the remedy to be applied: "I have no defense to make. My father and mother are dead and I have no blood kin that I know of. I have had very little education. I have had a disease for ten or fifteen years. It may be this had something to do with the act I have committed. This disease and my ignorance are all I have to offer. My wife died about a month ago and this has been on my mind." There are no considerations by which it can be made to appear profitable for the state to rear and execute such a degenerate. Like Judas he only lived to have it said, "It were better if he had never been born." While his trial was progressing and the mob was demanding his body, more than a score of city churches looked down upon that court-house scene, and at the same time a State university and various colleges and high schools looked on in helplessness.

That such a beautiful and cultured city should witness such scenes calls for explanation. It is not that these fixed beacon lights of education and religion have failed to point the way of human happiness and welfare. It is not that the teachers of justice, righteousness, and patriotism have ceased in the land. But it is because these influences have not been universally distributed and disseminated. Even now there are plenty of low, abandoned

places where the moral sunshine never reaches but where this sort of spawn is bred. If we would save our manhood that is now in the making, there must be a thorough hunting down of vicious influences and an energy that knows no weariness. Even the individuals who compose our mobs must be brought to think twice upon their duty to all men. There cannot be a mob where there is second thought. When Roosevelt was police commissioner of New York he asked a burly Irish applicant, "How would you go about it to disperse a mob?" "Begorra," came the prompt reply, "I'd pass around me cap for a collection, sir!" A call to humble, quiet duty will send home many a fire-eater.

The chastening experiences since the war are teaching us that it is a wearisome climb and that we have a long way yet to go. There is no quick-relief balm to cure our deepest internal maladies. We must attempt such healing in the spirit of that great Kentuckian who strove "with malice toward none, and charity for all."

Thos. B. Roberts

THE HUMOR OF FRANCIS ASBURY

Humor is an essential element of the soul. It is the bubbling up of the best that is in us. Any one devoid of a sense of humor is very unfortunate; the unevenly built men and women in public and private life are illustrations of this fact. In order to get a perfect picture of a person in real life, we take them unawares and get a snapshot; if we want to get the real inner life of a man, we read what he has written in private. The open book of a man's life is not read until after he has "finished his course." It may not be read understandingly until generations after he is gone. Those who read Moses, and Paul, and John Wesley today get a better likeness of them than was possible hitherto.

The same is true concerning Francis Asbury, "the prophet of the long road." We are taking a new interest in reading his "Journals," the only authentic records we have of his most eventful life. There is so much of the pathetic in his life, that we may have failed to recognize the deep vein of humor running through it all. It was this, reinforced by an all-conquering faith in God, that made it possible for him to become a chief pioneer in western civilization. He was not an ascetic nor a mystic; he was a man of good sense and of good humor.

"Dust, fever, and too much company," he records, "these are my trials; peace and perfect love, these are my consolations." Dirt was a very common thing in his day among the people to whom he ministered. He sometimes longed for a clean board on which to lie down and sleep. "I lay along on the floor on a few deerskins with fleas; how glad would I be for a plain, clean plank to lie on, as preferable to the beds, for where the beds are in bad state, the floors are worse." Another time he writes; "The house is not the most agreeable, the size of it 20 x 16; there are seven beds and sixteen persons therein, and some noisy children; so I dwell among briars and thorns." Again we read, "There is no security against itch but sleeping in a brimstone shirt." It was after having been laid up with a fever that he wrote: "Here is

a bishop who can neither stand to preach nor kneel to pray." He went hungry sometimes and he could say, "He who suffers a famine will better know how to enjoy a feast." It was not in a complaining spirit that he records: "Heavy sweats and a high fever were my companions in the night." Like a former missionary, he had learned how to use these "light afflictions" to the advantage of his ministry. This helped him in living up to the standard he had set: "There is no security against apostasy, as taught by Christ and the apostles, but by going on to perfection."

There was a short period during the Revolutionary war in which he was compelled to cease from his active public work: "This is an excellent season for dressing my own vineyard," he writes. He loved retirement and believed that "too much company is both disagreeable and dangerous." "When among my friends," he says, "my mind is inclined to a degree of cheerfulness bordering on levity." At another time, "I felt condemned for telling humorous anecdotes," but he did not know whether it was guilt or fear. "Unprofitable company" was a torture to him. "If there were no other hell than the company of wicked men, I would shun that." "A presiding elder put his feet upon the banister of my pulpit; it was like thorns to my flesh until he had taken it down."

Like the rest of us he did not like dry preaching. Of a certain brother he says, "I heard him out, as I could not get my horse and bags. I surely believe the sermon was his own—it was so much like his conversation." His advice to his preachers was, "Preach as though you had been in heaven among its celestial inhabitants, and had hovered over the bottomless pit, and had beheld the tortures and heard the groans of the damned." Some of the preachers of his day were "unskilled surgeons, who put their patients to pain without profit." In his criticisms he did not spare himself: "I attempted to preach at Bath, on 'the lame and the blind'; the discourse was very lame, and it may be I left my hearers as I found them—blind." Another time he says, "My congregation was small, and so was my power of speech." Again, "Some of my friends were so unguarded or so imprudent as to commend me to my face." Here is what he thought of some of his

preachers: Of Mr. Rankin, "He will never be admired as a preacher—but as a disciplinarian, he will have his place"; of Richard Wright, "He is spoiled by his gifts." He writes of one of his young preachers who had taken a wife: "I find the care of a wife begins to humble my young friend, and makes him very teachable; I had always thought he carried great sail—he will have ballast now." He describes a discourse of one of his preachers as "dry and full of stiffness." Another used "a few pompous, swelling words, which pass for something great with short-sighted people." Among his brief petitions is this: "Keep me from preaching empty stuff to please the ear."

Freeborn Garrettson said of Asbury: "He prayed the best, and he prayed the most of any man I ever knew." His own definition of prayer as recorded in his Journal is, "Prayer is the sword of the preacher, the life of the Christian, the terror of hell, and the devil's plague." He had no sympathy with half-hearted Methodists and said he could not "be guided by such." The "Springs" were the best place and the worst place he was ever in, "good for health, but injurious to religion." The same is true of many resorts at the present time. The greatest needs of Boston were "good water and good religion." Of a place in the South, "I cannot report great things for religion, but cotton sells high." That he was quick to see the ludicrous is indicated by the following: "I reproved myself for a sudden and violent laugh at a man giving an old negro woman her liberty because she had too much religion." At one time he rode a stiff-jointed horse, that he would not use excepting to "save souls, or for the health of a brother." He found that often when men "become rich they forget that they are Methodists." A man wanted to beg or borrow $50.00 of him: "He might as well have asked me for Peru."

After receiving his last letter from John Wesley he writes, "I received a bitter pill from one of my best friends." Referring to a letter received from the South he says, "Perhaps soon we shall be thought unfit for company for their dogs"; and again, "Those who have gone from us in Virginia have drawn a picture of me which is not taken from life." There were various causes for backsliding: "Many dispute away what little religion they

have." "Some people are so full of politics, they have turned all religion out of doors."

But in spite of all the difficulties arising from without and from within, he was always very optimistic as to the future of Methodism. In 1798 he writes: "I make no doubt the Methodists will be a numerous and wealthy people." Like Abraham, he rejoiced to see a better day: "he saw it and was glad." In September, 1807, he wrote: "I am young again and boast of being able to ride 6,000 miles in ten months." Eight years later he writes: "I must halt or order my grave." He died the following year. There is a touch of pathos in his last entries: "I have little to leave except a journey of 5,000 miles a year; the care of 100,000 souls; the arrangement of 400 preachers, to which I may add the murmurs and discontent of preachers; who wants this legacy? They who do are welcome to it"; and six months before he died he makes this entry, "I resign the station to Bishop McKendree. I will take away my feet. It is my 55th year in the ministry, and the 45th of my labors in America; my mind enjoys great peace and divine consolations."

Among his last words recorded are these: "I live in God, moment by moment, broken to pieces." There are several particulars in which he lived as his Master: "I cannot be hid," and "I have lived long enough to be loved and to be hated, to be admired and to be feared." Like Paul and others who preceded him in apostolic labors, he never married: "I hope God and the sex will forgive me," he says. But with a family at that day, his gigantic task would not have been performed.

Dr. Abel Stevens, the historian of Methodism, says of Francis Asbury: "Though not the first, he was the chief founder of the denomination in the New World. The history of Christianity, since the apostolic age, affords not a more perfect example of ministerial and episcopal devotion. . . . In American Methodism he ranks immeasurably above all his contemporaries and successors."

Carew W. Haines

EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

America's fortunes are based upon two great ideas—education and democracy. These two ideas are as potent and far-reaching as any two ideas that exist in the world. And one is almost exactly as important as the other. They belong side by side. They ought never to be separated. The purpose of this article is to interpret and discuss these two related ideas—particularly as they bear upon adult education in America.

The word education comes directly from a Latin word which means to lead forth, or draw out. In its proper meaning, then, education is the unfolding or leading forth of the total capacities of a human being. Many and interesting definitions of education have been given by various wise men. Plato says: "The purpose of education is to give to the body and to the soul all the beauty and all the perfection of which they are capable." And John Stuart Mill: "Education includes whatever we do for ourselves and whatever is done for us by others for the express purpose of bringing us nearer the perfection of our nature." "Education is the preparation for complete living," says Herbert Spencer. "To gain wisdom or skill in school or out is education," writes David Starr Jordan.

Now, so long as we live education never ceases. It would have been better if Herbert Spencer had said, Education is the *process* of complete living. No one is either too young or too old to proceed with his education. The baby in the cradle who is making patient and laborious efforts to get hold of the distant, alien, soft pink object that is his big toe, is carrying on his education. He will soon learn that this big toe is a part of himself, but that the rattle which lies by his side is not. A few years ago there were enrolled in the University of Arizona a grandmother, her daughter, and a grandchild. My mother graduated from the Chautauqua Institution after she had raised a family of nine children. Her public school work came to a close when she was eleven, and she was married before she was sixteen. But

her mind was always keen and alert, and she never ceased to desire an education, so while her children one after the other were being trained at college she set to work, too, to make good as best she could her early deficiencies. To-day she is as well informed and as open-minded as any of her college-trained sons and daughters. All this well illustrates Longfellow's beautiful lines:

> "For age is opportunity no less
> Than youth itself, though in another dress.
> And as the evening twilight fades away
> The sky is filled with stars, invisible by day."

II

There is no *one* way in which men become educated. The ways are many and various. Some people have the false notion that only those who go to school are educated. They think that there is no learning except what one gets from books, in classes, in set ways. Now it is true that the school is the established way; that it is a systematic way; that education is simplified in this way; that first things come first; that rudimentary and essential facts and principles are learned this way at the right time and in the right order. For these and other reasons, it is surely unpardonable for a child not to go to school if he can. But we should never forget that some of the best educated people have had almost no regular schooling. Horace Greeley, one of the best and wisest men America has produced, attended school less than four years during his entire life; and his formal education was limited to the district school as it existed in New England one hundred years ago. Abraham Lincoln's lack of schooling is still more striking. In a brief account of his life which Lincoln wrote after he became famous he says: "There were some schools, so-called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond readin', writin', and cipherin', to the Rule of Three. . . . I could read, write, and cipher, to the Rule of Three, but that was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity." Think of that for the greatest and most beloved man of modern times! And think of

the vastness and the value of what he picked up under the pressure of necessity! On the other hand, we have had some famous educated fools; and there are scores of young people in our schools and colleges to-day who are getting the very worst education that money can buy.

III

Experience is one of the surest and soundest methods of education. Experience comes from a Latin word that means to try, to test, to pass through. And men learn much by trying things, by testing them, and by actually passing through them. It is sometimes a hard way to learn; and often deep scars are left by the trials through which the learner passes. Too frequently the experimenter does not survive the lesson. It is a tragic thing that a child must be disfigured for life in order to learn that fire will burn, or that coal-oil and lighted matches do not belong together. Scientists and teachers daily regret that a boy must lay down his life in order to learn that a loaded gun is always sure to kill. But what is learned by experience is well learned. The lessons stick. And practical necessity is a powerful prompter and revealer. In an emergency we *must* find a way or perish. It is a fine part of this method of education, too, that men who have learned thus in the hard school of the world come thereby to have a wonderful confidence in their own powers, and so undertake new and dangerous advances into the field of knowledge. The world owes much to its Henry Stanleys, its Daniel Boones, its Thomas Edisons and Luthur Burbanks.

IV

Friendship is a great educator. We learn from association. Not only do worthy friends stimulate us to imitate their fine qualities, but freely, gladly, often unconsciously, they transmit their stores of knowledge. If we have wise friends and many friends, we may become widely educated through them. There is no finer example of the value of friendship as an educational force than that of Tom Poole and his friends. Tom Poole was a rough, brusque tanner and land-owner in England. From boy-

hood he had a passion for education; but his harsh old father sneered at learning; denied him the privilege of academic and university training; and apprenticed him to the tanner's trade. But Tom Poole was made of heroic stuff. He determined to secure an education anyway. He got books about him; studied Latin; and read widely in various directions. He had a genius for friendship—particularly for friendship with men of genius. He reverenced genius, and delighted above all things to commune with great minds and help create an atmosphere in which they could best reveal themselves. He came, thus, into intimate friendship with the poet Coleridge, and later with Wordsworth and Dorothy and Charles Lamb, and Sir Humphry Davy, and the Wedgwood brothers—inventors of the Wedgwood pottery—and many other wise men and cultivated women; so that his whole mind and soul became expanded and uplifted.

V

Education is gained through emotional and spiritual crises. Love and joy, bereavement and renunciation, and, indeed, all true and great passions are in themselves highly educative forces; and when these experiences are sudden and poignant vital truths often come to birth in an instant; and often in such moments we are granted profound and organizing insights into the heart of things. Whole regions of life, hitherto barren or unexplored, are suddenly illuminated with a flood of revealing light. The poet Browning makes much of these high moments of spiritual insight and growth. Many of his most wonderful poems are dramatic renderings of these decisive hours of passion and energized will. Sometimes, the sweeter, less violent emotional experiences have far-reaching educational results. Many a man remembers how as a youth he stepped stolidly or reluctantly into the old familiar school room some autumn morning—the first of the school year—when the crisp air was just beginning to leave its crimson imprint upon forest and field. He will recall how his reluctance or indifference suddenly gave place to thrilling interest as his eyes fell upon the new teacher; and he heard her voice giving vividness and charm to what he had hitherto thought stupid

and inanimate. From that instant learning became a pleasure. Whatever that teacher said or did had zest for him. The schoolhouse became a shrine; and upon his books from day to day there fell a heavenly light.

But these educational accelerations come chiefly with highly emotional experiences. There comes a national crisis when the hearts of all true patriots are stirred to the depths. Patriotism is quickened into intense activity. The whole nation is aroused so that every sense and every spiritual energy is stretched to the utmost. The result is that tens of thousands of self-satisfied apathetic citizens grow more in a single month than would have been the case in five years of normal and monotonous life. The minds of men are shocked out of their lethargy; they have new horizons opened to them; they are forced into intimate associations with interesting fellow citizens whom they had barely known, and whose virtues they had scarcely guessed; geography and history become living realities to them; and they feel a deep affection for foreigners across the sea of whose existence they had hardly known. Sometimes a deep religious experience transforms a man's outer as well as his inner world. We have many authentic and thrilling examples of mental and spiritual awakenings of this kind. Moody's conversion is a familiar one. Moody was a slow, stupid, uninteresting youth before this vital religious change. But his whole nature became transformed. He was visited with genuine spiritual illumination. It was as if one should plunge a lighted candle into oxygen—there was a glow of white radiance. Moody's mental powers were quickened as well as his emotional nature, so that he became one of the greatest teachers of his generation. He reached and stimulated the minds of hundreds of thousands of men and women who otherwise, no doubt, would have remained untouched by the educational forces about them.

VI

The magic key that unlocks each one of these educational processes is *interest*. Aroused interest works miracles in education. What people are interested in they learn easily, they learn rapidly, they learn with delight, and they learn indelibly. They

do not have to try to remember when knowledge comes to them in this way. It becomes a part of them; it is bound up with other vital and useful knowledge; and is spontaneously brought into action; and no knowledge is of value that does not relate itself to life. So in every new advance in the field of education the important thing is to attach the new tasks and lessons to interests already aroused and operative. Your daughter does not want to learn French, but you desire that she should learn it. She does, however, have an absorbing desire to go to Paris, and to travel in France. Is the method of procedure not simple? Promise her that as soon as she can speak French fluently you will take her to France for a summer. Here is a man who does not read Shakespeare; who has an abhorrence for Shakespeare; who thinks that Shakespeare is very hard to understand, and that he is for scholars and sentimentalists only. But he does crave a deeper knowledge of human nature; he is interested in psychology; and he wants to study the springs of human action and the development of the various passions at tragic moments. Moreover, this man has a great ambition to be a good converser. Now all that is necessary to make such a man an ardent and fascinated student of Shakespeare is to convince him not only that Shakespeare among all the sons of men is the one supremely gifted in reading and revealing the myriad passions of men and women; but that likewise in the plays of Shakespeare one has constant examples of conversation as brilliant as was ever practiced in market place, college, or drawing-room.

VII

I come now to a discussion of the democratic idea in education. And, first, let us determine the meaning of the word *democracy*. It means the rule of the people. So far as civil and political meaning is concerned Lincoln's definition has never been improved upon—"The government of the people, by the people, and for the people." But democracy is not limited to matters of government. Democracy is a term that touches all life. The term *democracy* implies that *what is good for one is good for all.* It establishes human nature upon a bedrock universal

foundation. And, further, the word democracy suggests participation, the universal sharing of responsibility as well as of privilege and opportunity. A true democrat will desire to share the burdens as well as the benefits of society and government.

Now it becomes the first duty of a democracy to make provision for the education of every citizen, both young and old. It is an axiom of democracy that every sound, normal individual has the *capacity* for education and for the highest education. What one human unit—the most fortunate—is fitted to secure, all are fitted to secure. The unforgivable crime is to shut some away in darkness while others are allowed to enjoy the light; for a human being can realize himself only to the degree that he comes into the light, that is, just to the degree that he is educated. It is the imperative duty of a democracy to see that no soil of human capacity is allowed to go uncultivated. The body of the commonest citizen must be given sound training and provided with pure and healthful environment. There must be opportunity occasionally for leisure, for play, for the expansive power of spontaneous joy. The love of beauty must be fed and fostered. It must never be forgotten that what *any* human being has a right to and a desire for in the way of bodily perfection, of leisure, of self-realization, of intellectual acquisition, and of æsthetic and moral enjoyment, every individual has a right to.

VIII

The fact is, a democracy is safe only to the extent that the people are educated. And America has chosen to be a democracy. Once for all, long ago, we decided that we should rule ourselves. We could no doubt have a king, a czar, or a kaiser to rule us if such were our desire. It is conceivable that the pious and humble Mr. William Hohenzollern might forgive us, and send us one of his valiant and stalwart sons to reign over us. We might even raise up a monarch of our own here at home. But we want no king or kaiser to rule over us—no prince or grand duke! We will endure no aristocracy of authority—not even some supposedly specially favored company of our own fellow citizens. We are a democracy; we have decided that the people themselves shall rule.

But rulers must be educated if they are to govern successfully. Said President Garfield: "We must off-set the dangers of universal suffrage by means of universal education." The people cannot rule well, and so justify democracy, unless they are intelligent, self-sufficient, cultivated in taste, and morally educated in honor, and justice, and self-restraint. If our democracy endures and thrives, the mass of the people must be educated and their culture must be symmetrical. England is fully awake to the need for democratic education. In that remarkable report submitted to the British Government by the Committee on Adult Education the following statements are to be found: "The motive which impels men and women to seek education is partly the wish for fuller personal development. It arises from the desire for knowledge, for self-expression, for the satisfaction of intellectual, æsthetic, and spiritual needs, and for a fuller life. It is based upon a claim for the recognition of human personality. This desire is not confined to any class of society, but is to be found among people of every social grade. . . . The citizens of our country cannot fully contribute their experiences or ideals to its service unless they are articulate, and possess knowledge. In other words, democracy can only be operative through an educated community."

IX

"The best political economy is the care and culture of man," says Emerson. One serious trouble in America is that the rank and file of our citizens have not waked up sufficiently to the patriotic duty of being educated. This apathy is particularly noticeable in the field of civics and government. Graft, and profiteering, and public vice, and political scandal and oppression, and reckless quarrels with other nations will prevail just to the degree that the people are ignorant and fail to participate soberly in self-government. It was the tragedy of Germany during the last generation that the common people refused to do their own thinking. It is the tragedy of Russia and Mexico to-day that the rank and file of the people are so densely ignorant. So in America, we must keep house for ourselves if we succeed in pre-

serving our democracy. Even though there is little danger that any king, or prince, or grand duke, or hereditary aristocracy shall ever be able to establish rule over us, there is one sinister native potentate who stands obligingly by, ready at any minute to relieve us of the responsibilities of self-government. I refer to the political Boss—an obsequious and ubiquitous individual whom America has known to her sorrow.

In many parts of the country there has been the most cynical attitude toward the ballot and toward public office. "Don't you believe in the sacredness of the ballot?" a Chicago patriot was asked. "Sure, I do! Haven't I made my living by it for the last twenty years?" Among the most familiar slogans in our political camps are "Public office is a private snap," and "To the victor belong the spoils." But if there are spoils somebody must be despoiled. Who is it that is thus robbed and preyed upon? Why, it is the common citizen; it is the ruler himself. And how about democracy and equality? We must make it clear to ourselves that the man who will sell his vote for two dollars in the interest of another man who has some selfish political end to serve is only one twenty-five thousandth as much of a factor in the affairs of his country as is the citizen who buys his vote. We should reflect further that the only place, even in free America, where the hod-carrier and the millionaire, the seamstress and the Supreme Court judge, are on an absolutely common footing is at the ballot box. Here is the very source and shrine of our hard-won democracy. Let it be remembered, finally, that "The penalty which good men pay for refusing to take a hand in politics is to be ruled by the rascals."

X

There should be no desire on the part of any true American to drag down those who are fortunately situated—who are educated and cultured. That would be a poor type of democracy, indeed. We want to bring all men to a common level of opportunity, not by dragging the few down to the level of the many, but by lifting the many up to the high plane of opportunity and enjoyment that is the right of all men. With us, so far as culture

and education are concerned, there are too few on a high level as it is. Only about one out of a hundred of our population graduate from college. Less than five per cent complete high school; and scarcely twenty per cent go through the grammar school. During the war we woke up to the shocking realization that eighteen per cent of our population do not go to school at all. Surely, there is no call to drag anyone down when a nation is in such a case!

What we want to do is to lift every citizen up to a high level. Only thus can democracy endure and thrive and excel. Only thus can it arrive at a higher state of culture and serviceableness than an aristocracy. An aristocracy, in order that it may flourish and enjoy the delights, the refinements, and the luxuries of life, demands a lower level of humanity who shall toil in ignorance and servitude. In America, we will tolerate no aristocracy, however beautiful and civilizing, that crushes out the weak, the poor, and the unfortunate in order that a fortunate few may be still more favored. We seek a universal aristocracy of wisdom, and refinement, and service, and self-development. Some, of course, will excel by native endowment, but no one shall be denied fair opportunity to achieve his best. "A truly democratic society," says Mr. John Dewey, "is a society in which all share in useful service and all enjoy a worthy leisure."

Frank C. Lockwood.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

THEOLOGY—A PROGRESSIVE SCIENCE

THE religious life of our age has been characterized by two seemingly contradictory tendencies. On the one hand, there is a huge intellectual unrest. In the solvent of historic and scientific criticism, cherished dogmas, time-honored traditions, and revered institutions have been either wholly dissolved or have

> "Suffered a sea change
> Into something rich and strange."

At no time in Christian history has confessional and institutional religion held the fealty of the human conscience with so slight a grasp. No wonder that panic seizes timid souls and utter defeat overtakes weak ones. On the other hand, in no age has the Christian community shown such intense practical activity, been so aggressive in its propaganda and so triumphant in its expansion. Not in all the ages of faith were so many crowns laid at the feet of Christ as in the last hundred years. And this in spite of the tragedy of the Great War. For, indeed, that world catastrophe was on its moral side a true Armageddon, a contest between the beastly powers that rise from the abyss of rebellion against God and the Republic of God, the human rule of Him who comes in the clouds of heaven. Evidently the dissolution of doctrine has not involved any decay of faith. Truth waxes as dogma wanes, and ever crescent life pushes through decadent forms.

This is not a belittling of systematic theology. We must not say, as some who perversely quote Coleridge as saying, "Christianity is a life and not a doctrine," but rather that religion is life and therefore engenders doctrine. For we cannot shut out reflection from life. Theology is the expression in the terms of the intellect of the experiences of the heart. It construes the facts of the Christian life in their intellectual equivalents. It is an inevitable though perilous discipline,

Just because theology is a science it is subject to development. The saving facts do not change, but our interpretation of the facts grows with fuller experience and more careful study. Stars and flowers remain the same, "the world's unwearied countenance is fresh as in Creation's day," but every generation studies them in the light of new astronomies and new botanies. There was real profundity in the saying of the pessimistic Schopenhauer, "All ages have not had philosophers, but all have had mothers." The flux of opinion does not change the permanent fact of personality or the persistence of the passional elements of life.

The world of reality is vastly more opulent than the realm of thought, and one chief effect of immediate contact with life is the constant discovery of the poverty of science. Our age in its passion for reality has shown a decided tendency toward a form of philosophic skepticism very different from the ancient Pyrrhonism, in that it is destructive only of the idols of reason and not of the concrete facts of life. At last the spell of formal thought, the tyranny of Aristotle, has been broken, and philosophers everywhere are placing the center of our life not in the intellect but in the will, or rather in the personality, that spontaneous creative power which for itself and its own ends builds the fragmentary world of experience into the unity of thought, guided only by a teleological impulse and dominated by a sense of worth in the ends toward which it looks. Rational knowledge dwells only in the forecourts of the soul, and upon its walls and curtains are carved and painted only symbols of the true holy of holies, where God and man meet at the inner shrine of being. Beneath our agnosticism lies a deeper gnosis, and at the very boundary of thought, where metaphysical certitude vanishes, a moral faith is born.

This theory of knowledge, here rather hinted than fully stated, vindicates itself in the most superficial analysis of experience. We are constantly confusing the logical grounds of belief with true causes. If asked, "Why do you believe in the divine nature of our Lord?" we are apt to give scholastic answer, made up of the rational arguments we have studied from books or received from teachers and preachers. But any really worth-while conviction of Christ's deity has causes far deeper than any reasons we can give for it. It is born partly of revered authority, of sacred tradition, or holy memories, of prayers and hymns, of fine imaginings, of ecstasies of love, and above all of that living faith which entering the conscious-

ness of Jesus finds there that supreme worth of being to which we can give only the divine name and worship. "The heart," says Pascal, "has reasons of which the reason knows nothing at all."

Physical life, in its work of shaping organisms, is an almost perfect analogue of the work of the mind in creating science. The fact of life is always greater than the forms it takes. The swelling bud is but a ripple of an ocean of meaning that sweeps to the throne of the Eternal. The products of life, although they bear the marks of life's handiwork, are not themselves alive. Very similar is the relation of science to the reality given in experience. Knowledge is ever incomplete. The definition always leaves out the very something which is the soul of the matter. But while our science is thus forever an imperfect thing, life is ever something whole and entire. It is written that "we know in part," but not that we love in part.

Rational knowledge never can exhaust life. Take so common an experience as tears. To the chemist they are only "water, chloride of sodium, and a little mucus"; to the physiologist they are but the product of a function, secretion, and effectuate for the eye another function, detersion; yet the poet's ignorance may be more than their knowledge when he says:

> "Tears, idle tears, I know not what they mean."

But all of them together can never guess all the symboled pain that glitters in the crystal globe on the cheek of the widow or the penitent sinner. Thirst is better satisfied by the vilest water than by the formula H_2O. The discovery of argon, metargon, and etherion in the atmosphere has not made it more breathable than the old-fashioned mixture of nitrogen and oxygen. The writer of the nineteenth psalm may have known some things about the heavens worth remembering by the most learned professor of the New Astronomy.

"Life is greater than logic." We cannot syllogize the deepest experience of our souls. Most men have three great creeds—mother, wife, and child—which they hold without dogma and defend without apologetics. Most of us are patriots, not because of our study of the Constitution or our mastery of the philosophy of Federal Government, but because of great facts that lie behind the Declaration and the flag. Inspiration does more work in the world than argument. Hermann says of theologians, that "as theologians they are the product of their age; as Christians they are created of God

in a fashion that is far otherwise." The truth is that theology as a science is a luxury of the understanding, while religion as a life is a necessity of human nature.

Life, therefore, must be allowed to mold doctrines rather than doctrines to condition life. Every truly historic confession was doubtless once a living force, and perhaps it is as improper to revise a creed as to mend or mutilate a battle-flag. But such spiritual sensitiveness to traditional sanctities does not invalidate the necessity of fresh statements of truth to square with the widening vision of the new day. A living theology must be a growing theology. Doctrine, indeed, does conserve life, but only as the shell does the egg; at last the shell must be broken in the very interests of life, but it must be burst by the crescent life from within and not by rude vandalism from without. Life is permanent, forms are transient. In these fall days, the leaves are shimmering to their winter grave. We cannot be satisfied with last year's dead leaves and flowers, not though they were pressed roses from Paradise; we continually wait the perpetual renaissance of life and the coming procession of its triumph, from the first crocus that gratefully answers with its gold the spring sunshine, to asters and goldenrods that shall press their splendor of purple and gold against the very snow banks of still another winter.

In his brilliant book, Physics and Politics, Mr. Bagehot shows that the first necessity of primitive man was to acquire a "legal fiber" and a "crust of custom," but he also shows that for social progress it is necessary very often to break that crust. Truth, no more than the Master of Truth, can be kept forever in swaddling bands. There is no stereotyped way of saying the thoughts of God. He impanels a new jury in each generation to whom he submits afresh the witness of life for their verdict. Jesus has taught this very lesson in one of his most striking and humorous sayings, that about the danger of putting "new wine in old bottles," that is, the utter insufficiency of fixed forms to preserve the active ferment of life. No doubt neglect of this has caused much waste of precious spiritual wine in our generation. The trouble is with the men who are in the bottle business and who insist upon marketing their old stock, rather than manufacturing fresh wares, which might flexibly give room for the new vintage of the human spirit.

Rationalism, whether of speculation or of traditional orthodoxy, has always hated the conception of theological progress. The worship of the idols of the tribe which leads to dogmatism is all one in

its unchangeable rigidity with the worship of the idols of the den which leads to rationalism. A story is told of Catherine of Russia, that once while walking she spied a rose in an unfrequented spot. Delighted to see so much beauty blooming where least expected, she ordered a sentinel stationed to guard it from vandal hands. Empress, soldier, and rose have all died, but Bismarck noted in his visit to Russia that a sentinel was still detailed to pace that solitary beat, guarding the grave of the rose. So do men when some new vision of truth dawns upon this human consciousness. It is placed under the guardianship of intellectual forms and organized societies to keep it from the handling of the profane. But, like the sweetness of the rose, it will not be confined and goes to mingle its fragrance with the common air that humanity breathes, while the mental mechanism created to protect it lasts on, like useless sentinels guarding the ghosts of dead roses!

There is no true loyalty to a historic creed apart from the possession of a truly historic spirit. True followers of Wesley are not those who parrot-like repeat his phrases and slavishly imitate his methods, but those who have caught his great principle of the reality of the Divine life in the soul of man, and give it free growth in "spreading Scriptural holiness through these lands." That great man and teacher, long since passed into the perfect vision, Dr. George R. Crooks, once remarked to the writer, "A wise radicalism is the true conservatism." We, the disciples of the Wesleys and latest born children of the Protestant Reformation, can more safely than most, from our standpoint of inward spiritual assurance, assert the freedom of scholarship and lead in the very van of doctrinal development.

The appeal to life is, therefore, in the interest of science itself. A living theology will never lose its hold on the intellect of man, for the very reason that it draws a perpetually renewed vitality from the never wasting springs of the inward religious life.

> "Gray is all theory, dear friend,
> But green the growing tree of life."

There is no need of haste in forming systems or impatience to secure final rigid statements of any doctrine. Let us rejoice that we abide in no ice-bound lake of dogma, but float forward on the ever moving river of God's truth, fluid and mobile, glad in hours of quiet flow to hear afar the music of the mighty ocean of a full revealing.

The claim that theology is a progressive science need not at all

disturb the certitude of faith. Moral activities have their root in practical values and not in theoretical systems. Men will not wait to eat omelets until they can comprehend how the same heat melts the butter and hardens the eggs. A new theory of the growth of the yeast plant will not affect man's need of bread nor its value as nutriment. Mendelism may explain the variations in sweet peas, but does not moderate our enjoyment of their exquisite loveliness. Some one has counted seventeen theories of the Atonement. The Cross is still the supreme remedy for sin for the man who accepts any one or none of them. The intellectual opinions of men change with the generations, but the forces of the human heart are permanent and abide. "Through forms that fade and times that wear," immortal youth returns as regnant, conquering life renews the face of the world. Even Tyndall says: "Religion as an experience of the heart is invulnerable to the assaults of logic." You may destroy all temples, pictures, statues, all the masterpieces the creative hands of artists have shaped and you have not destroyed art, for the spirit of beauty in the human imagination will arise and repeople the world with loveliness. Nor will religion be banished from the world by the decay of intellectual systems; it will only perish when it dies in the soul of man.

> "We, who believe life's bases rest
> Beyond the reach of chemic test,
> Still, like our fathers, find Thee near."

THE PRIMACY OF LIFE OUR DOCTRINE

The primacy of life our doctrine, which is discussed in the preceding article on an epistemological basis, is also confirmed by an analysis of the Christian verity itself. The religion of Christ is not an *a priori* construction of the reason, but a revelation from God. It is not primarily a set of judgments and propositions, but a disclosure of the will, presence, and loving purpose of our God. It is not given in a logical deliverance, through a series of propositions, but in a redeeming act in which God discloses his heart. Jesus is not a religious artist, or ethical genius, enormously clever about spiritual things, who has given us a stock of well-reasoned opinions, but a Saviour, whose whole life is the Word of God because one deed of deliverance. He is not merely a rabbi, a supreme spiritual teacher, as Nicodemus fruitlessly thought, for he came not merely to instruct our ignorance, but to help

our helplessness. We needed not to be taught again so much as to be born again. The good news of God is not a philosophical deduction, not a set of fixed forms, statements of truth or authoritative institutions, but a power of life continually transforming the moral nature and fructifying thought. As such it can defy the centuries and can never wither. Its appeal is not primarily to our logical faculties, but to our moral needs. No theologian has exhausted it; not even the great ones of the Scripture itself—neither the fisherman of Capernaum, the scholar of Tarsus, nor that unknown Alexandrian genius who gave us the Epistle to the Hebrews.

One should speak very reverently in any assertion as to what would be a worthy revelation of God. The church has suffered much since the seventeenth century from the attempt to interpret Holy Scripture by subjective and really rationalistic theory of inspiration. Let us reverently consider that to reduce divine revelation to a series of intellectual propositions is to invest the Divine mind with our own finitude, and to make our poor way of knowing, with all its lack of absolute validity, the method of the All-Knowing One. A divine revelation is partly attested as divine by the fact that it is a disclosure of life, and not of doctrine, that it is act and deed and not scientific truth. Jesus is degraded, not only when he is made a judge and divider of earthly goods, but also when he is called in to decide questions of philosophy, criticism, and science.

The good news of the kingdom of God has its fullest expression in the consciousness of Jesus of his own unique relation to God. The divine revelation is a Person and a Life. Paul says not "I know *what*," but "I know *whom* I have believed."

> "And so the Word had flesh and wrought
> With human hands the Creed of creeds,
> In loveliness of perfect deeds
> And stronger than poetic thought."

Christ is Christianity. Thought has its limits; dogmas involve doubts, but persons abide. Jesus himself is the creed that needs no revision. He is "the same, yesterday, today, and forever." He is the creed that unites. Dogmas divide. Ask Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian, "What do you believe?" and the air is filled with the clamor of contending theologies, but ask them "Whom do you believe?" and the consenting chorus of faith greets the Ever-Living One, "My Lord and my God!"

The Incarnation is not the property of the schools. It is not by the formulas of Nicæa, nor by the definitions of Chalcedon that faith is formed or grows. Personal contact with the Lord does for the common man what all the controversies of the centuries cannot do for the wisest theologian. Peter and Paul assure us that they saw the Risen One. There is no weight of human testimony that could make us believe such a tremendous fact did we not also find that it was for them a certain creative experience, that it was more than a vision of the eyes, even the revealing of a new power of life. Paul not only says, "I saw the Lord," but also: "It pleased God to reveal his Son in me." We who have known that experience can come to the historic fact of the resurrection with a trust in the personal fact which is its best proof and interpretation.

The correlative of divine revelation is faith. And faith is a moral act and not merely a mental state. It is an attitude of the will, which is conditioned, not primarily on an intellectual credence, but on the recognition of a supreme worth in the object of faith. In this issue of the REVIEW there will be found a very able paper by Professor Wilson, of Syracuse University, on "The Place of the Will in Religion." He shows, conclusively, from the standpoint of functional psychology, that religion is a creative activity rather than a static mental condition. Surely it ought by this time to be a truism among Protestant Christians that saving faith is not an acceptance of logical propositions, but trust in a living Person. It is no intellectual state, not even credence in a historical manifestation; it is the personal acceptance of a historical and eternal act of deliverance. It is not acquiescence in a verbal formula, but such trust in our living Lord as makes our own his communion with the Father and his joyful acceptance of the Father's will.

> "Think not the faith by which the just shall live
> Is a dead creed, a map correct of heaven;
> Far less a feeling, fond and fugitive,
> A thoughtless gift withdrawn as soon as given;
> It is an affirmation and an act
> That bids eternal truth be present fact."

The Christian life has a certainty which the Christian doctrine never can fully attain. An assurance that lay at the end of a logical process we could not wait for; the word of faith must be nigh us, even in the heart. We see how wrong, although well meaning, Dr. Charles

A. Briggs was in his assertion of a threefold authority of the Bible, the church, and the reason. Neither of the three is authority in the formal sense. The real authority is that revelation of God which indeed they may inclose, but which attests itself to the human consciousness as having supreme worth in itself and as giving highest worth to life. The gospel is its own best apologetic. Nothing but moral antipathy can hinder its conquest of human lives. Not argument, proof or reasoning, but the Holy Spirit, is to convince the world. A doubting age does not need confirmations of its faith so much as a contact with its object that shall vitalize it.

> "'Tis life of which our nerves are scant,
> Oh, life, not death, for which we pant,
> More life and fuller that we want."

And Jesus says, "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly."

PERSONALITY IN PREACHING

THE editorial discussions in this issue of the REVIEW have been largely concerned with the relation of doctrine to life. The primacy of life over doctrine finds further confirmation and its finest realization in the ministry of the gospel. Preaching is the quickening of truth by the power of personality. The sermon only becomes fully effective when it is a message out of life to life. Truth can only be well forged by the intellect when it comes white-hot from the furnace of the heart. "Take heed unto thyself and the doctrine" is the counsel of the greatest of preachers.

Much that goes by the name of preaching sounds unreal, remote and lifeless, simply because the truth in it—and every word may have been true—had not passed through the crucible of personal experience. Back of the living message must stand the living man. The Methodist ideal of preaching has been formulated once for all by Charles Wesley:

> "What we have felt and seen
> With confidence we tell;
> And publish to the sons of men
> The signs infallible."

Unless we ourselves have been the subjects of the Christian revelation, we cannot preach a living gospel, for a supernatural creed can only endure when supported by a supernatural life.

Personality is the greatest force in a world of persons. It is the soul of leadership. The greatest ideas have been impotent to sway men until incarnated in a magnetic and aggressive personality. This is true even in the colder realm of the intellect. It is the secret of compelling literary work. "The style is the man," said Buffon. Great teachers like Arnold of Rugby left their impress on their generation more by what they were than by what they taught. Fifty years ago, this writer came under the influence of a great teacher, to whom he owes most largely the whole of his mental life since. It was not her learning, adequate as that was, but a certain vital power of communicating her own enthusiasm that made her the inspiration of a host of young lives. She has passed away, but there is not in all the quarries of Carrara one block of marble white enough or flawless enough to be her fitting monument.[1]

What we are must in the long run count for more than what we teach. Perhaps none of our preaching can claim to be absolutely true, but if we be true men, speaking out of some rich experience of life, we have not failed. Doubtless many folks leave our churches with questions in their mind, and may even openly say with regard to this or that position taken, "I do not believe that." Of course that is to be regretted, but the strong preacher can easily endure such disagreement. But should any one say of the speaker "I do not believe in that man"—that would break his heart.

It was to no singing seraph with vibrant wings that Jehovah committed his message to Israel "in the year when King Uzziah died," but to a trembling mortal, crouching in the skirts of the Divine glory and conscious only of unworthiness. Men, rather than angels, have been chosen for the ministry of that truth which is human and vital to its very core. "Preach," said the Master of Balliol, "living words to living men." The preacher's work is simply to reveal a personal God, incarnated in the person of Christ to human persons. And the supreme power of that message lies in its humanness. Do you remember how splendidly that lesson is taught in Browning's magnificent poem, "Saul"? The youthful David, to charm away the melancholia of the Mad King, goes "through the whole round of

[1] May the editor be pardoned for including this tribute to the memory of Miss Harriet J. Cooke, then of Cornell College, Iowa.

creation" to find the keynote of the awakening hymn. It is only when the human note is struck that Saul is stirred, and the cure becomes complete when the triumphant song seeks the sky and discloses the human heart of God.

> "'Tis my flesh that I seek
> In the Godhead! I seek and I find it. O Saul, it shall be
> A Face like my face that receives thee, a Form like to me
> Thou shalt love and be loved by forever: A Hand like my hand
> Shall fling open the gates of new life to thee. See the Christ stand!"

Only that ministry will permanently attract men that is coursed throughout by a red-veined humanity. The human interest is the abiding interest in art and life. In a great picture, nature is portrayed in her most awe-inspiring and sublimest mood; there are the mountains with their coronet of snow, flinging the storm cloud as a scarf about their stony shoulders; in the deep ravines the purple shadows darken into dusk, while above in the glowing sunlight the condor sails in unwearied flight along the unseen paths of air. But the soul of the painting is not in the grandeur of the hills or the glory of nature's coloring; it is the hunter's hut in the foreground and the hunters themselves returning with their game that vivify the masterpiece. Man dwarfs the universe; when he enters the picture, he transfuses the entire canvas with his presence. It is the glory of the Bible that it is so human a book, and therefore inspiring as well as inspired. Its divinest attribute is its truth to life. The Biblical preaching, which the church more and more needs and demands, will be warmly human and instinct with vitality.

In a living ministry, the distinction between doctrinal and practical preaching has little place. Doctrine meets duty in the unity of life. Creed should never be divorced from deed. All best preaching is at once doctrinal and practical. Indeed, there are but two greatest types of sermons: in one, some great principle is discussed and then applied to human conduct, and in the other, every lowliest task is enforced by appeal to eternal truth. There is no lofty or low in the realm of character. The highest doctrine may help in the humblest duty. The handful of snow in the fence corner by the roadside drifts into the same sort of curves and lines that shape the glaciers in the high mountain valleys.

It is this appeal to reality and life that distinguishes the prophet of God from the official religionist. The highest type and noblest

examples are the prophets of Israel. We are now coming to see that their supreme significance is in the fact that they bore a living message from Jehovah to the men of their own time. They were no contrivers of holy riddles for the ingenious prophecy-mongers of coming ages to guess, no cunning confusers of tenses of grammar or history, no makers of scrapbooks of Providence from fragments taken haphazard from anywhere in duration; they were men who stood so close to God that he could give them the living truth needed by their own age, and yet having so much, not alone of transient form, but of eternal meaning, that their words are ever finding fresh fulfillment in every age of the world. The prophet is a man who escapes the deadly average in human nature, and who, tearing the mask from custom, seeing through the shams of society and the corruptions of outworn convention, confidently stakes eternity against time and calmly waits the vindication of God. It is this subtle gift of vision into the real and eternal which separates genius from talent, the artist from the artisan, the statesman from the politician, the saint from the novelist, and the prophet from the priest.

My brothers of the pulpit! the oracles are not dumb nor are the heavens closed. The Spirit still witnesses with our spirits. There is no need to echo worn-out formulas or pious platitudes. If God has called you to the ministry of his Word, he has a living word to give you. He does not need gentlemanly ushers, tastefully adroit in liturgy and versatile in parish management; still less has he place for religious showmen, who, without any real faith, either in God or truth, resort to all vulgar expedients to draw the crowd. He still calls to his true prophets, "Come up to me into the mount." It is for you to walk that lonely path upon the hills of God, unalarmed among his thunders, to see his finger dipped in light still write the living law, and catch glorious glimpses of the retreating skirts of his splendor. Let the mere priest gather his multitude upon the plain and cry before the golden images of human fabrication, "These be thy gods, O Israel!" Dare to mount the heights and penetrate the darkness, and so learn to live first-hand from God. Then shall his touch make from your hands of clay links of gold, binding finite hearts to the eternal throne.

A passion for reality marks the present age. It is nearly a generation since such a man as Dr. Eliot, then president of Harvard, could assert the current belief that the clergy as a class lacked intel-

lectual candor, and also intimated that he somewhat shared that conviction. We may deprecate and even strenuously deny such a charge, but the fact that it could come from so high an authority was a challenge to gird up the loins of our moral nature and to freshen our hold on religious reality. No doubt the temptation is great to seem more orthodox, and what is more offensive, more pious than we really are, for falsehood and fear frequently take the forms of dogmatism and spiritual assumption. What is the remedy? To join the ranks of secularized and worldly ecclesiastics who are hand in hand with all that is least worthy in our time? Or to feebly modernize the pulpit by making it the vehicle to carry all the intellectual lumber of this generation? By no means; nothing could be more fruitless than a critical and destructive ministry. Our cure will come by such a fresh baptism of the Holy Spirit as will make our religion no mere bit of moral archæology which has been strangely rescued from the debris of centuries, but a living fact of the present moment, vividly realized in personal consciousness and spoken as a message of life. A riper scholarship may help us to sincerity and humility, but nothing can make genuine ministers of God save a real communion with his saving love and power.

In spite of the social and moral chaos left by the World War, some strong souls have a jubilant conviction that the Christian Church is on the eve of such a possible revival of spiritual religion as her past history has not known nor dreamed. The historic spirit is preparing the way of the Lord. Truth, dead in the tomb of dogma, is springing to life at the question of criticism. In the fine words of Fairbairn: "The Christ of history, lost in dogmas, has been rediscovered." This recovery of Jesus is already giving the church anew that thrill of life which conquered the world in the first three Christian centuries. To be a preacher in the twentieth century is a tremendous task, but it is the topmost task of time. The nineteenth century has but cleared the way for the supreme and final triumph of our living Lord. The present age calls for a vital ministry which, springing from his Life, shall surely lead souls in the Way which shall find expression for both mind and heart in the Eternal Truth.

THE BURIED BIBLE

How dearly Jesus loved the book of Deuteronomy! He quotes from it more frequently than from any other book of the law; it is his chief weapon in his great battle with the tempter. This book, so prized by our Lord, was probably the chief charter of the national reformation in Judah, under Josiah. Mystery enfolds its origin and romance attended its discovery. It is a codification of ancient laws, with which there was incorporated humanitarian legislation, and especially reforms in worship, such as severe penalties against idolatry, provision for an official priesthood, and the prescription of one central sanctuary. It may have been transcribed by some priestly disciple of the great prophets of the preceding century, and possibly some exile, on the fall of Samaria, brought the precious document with the prophecies of Hosea and the records of the Northern Kingdom to Jerusalem and deposited them in the archives of the temple.

Here it lay for a century, neglected during the long day of idolatry and persecution under Manasseh, covered with dust and debris, until, during the temple repairs of pious Josiah's reign, Hilkiah, the high priest, finds it and sends it to the king. It is the work of the prophets, but it speaks in the terms of law and priestly precept. No wonder that its awful message was heard with shuddering horror, no wonder that the loyal king at once begins to repair the long neglect, not only the Temple but the nation, by a series of reforms which follow point by point the prescriptions of the Deuteronomic law.

What happened to this law-book has been the frequent fate of the entire Book of God in all its strange history. The Bible has been repeatedly buried, both by neglect and misuse, and its rediscovery has ever been the signal of spiritual awakening and moral reform.

As in the days just preceding Josiah the Book has often been hidden from sight by persecuting zeal. Priests and bigots have withheld it from the people. When Luther found the Bible in his monastery at Erfurt, it not only shone with its radiance into the gloom of his own spirit, but, held aloft by his glorious ministry, it gave new light and life to the modern world, and went forth as a liberating force to destroy all despotisms of the soul. There is deep truth, though often misinterpreted, in the maxim of Chillingworth, "The Bible is the religion of Protestantism."

The Bible has frequently been buried by creed-bound dogmatism. It has been resorted to as an armory of weapons for religious con-

troversy; men have gone into this forest of truth to cut clubs to break each other's heads, rather than to feed their souls on its fruit. Dogma can indeed be drawn from the Bible, just as vinegar can be extracted from apples, but a barrel of cider vinegar is a poor expression of the blossoming beauty and fair fruitage of the living garden of God. In the great days of religious revival, human hearts ever turn from the rubbish heaps of confessional egotisms to find the freshness of the living Word.

The Bible has too often been buried by neglect and ignorance of its contents. The book itself has at last been unchained. Once a copy was worth a king's ransom, but the art of printing has liberated it and made it, not the priests' and scholars', but the people's book. There are probably in the world more than three hundred million printed copies of the Holy Scriptures, in whole or part, and it is still the "best seller" in the book stalls. For all that, the ignorance of even professing Christians of its saving message is a crying scandal. It lies unopened upon their parlor tables. They will fight for it, blindly defend it, perversely misinterpret it, do anything but study it. Our age of many Bibles still needs its Shaphans, who shall take it from the chest of honored oblivion, where it lies dust-laden, and deliver its message of power to the people.

The living Bible is sometimes buried beneath antiquated traditions of its character. Mechanical theories of its inspiration ignore its dynamic appeal to the human heart and conscience. Dwight L. Moody wisely said, "I know the Bible is inspired because it inspires me." When the authority of Holy Scripture is invoked for proof of scientific theories or mere details of historic incident, an unimaginative dogmatism makes itself the dry nurse of skepticism. We do not eat shad to count the bones, although that may be anatomically interesting, but for the sweet nourishment of the meat. One infallibility the Book has, that by its reverent use the seeking soul can infallibly find God.

The Bible is unburied whenever a new rendering of its message is made into either the speech or the life of man. One new version we are always needing, its translation into human character and conduct. When shall the world find it, not in the cant phrase, "the dear *old* Book," but the new and everliving book, with the dew of the eternal morning on its leaves, the freshness of springtime in its influence, and the angel of perpetual resurrection forever standing by the open grave from which the buried but risen Book comes forth, like its Lord, to new victories?

THE ARENA

WHO WROTE THE BIBLE?

"Who wrote the Bible?" asked the Sunday school teacher. "God," answered the little boy.

All devout Christians heartily subscribe to that answer. The Ten Commandments were divinely given to Moses on the sacred mount. Christian consciousness believes that the rest of the Bible was likewise divinely revealed. Timothy said, "All scripture is given by inspiration of God." Over two thousand times are we told in the Old Testament that "The word of God came unto" the different patriarchs and prophets. Other books may be man-made, but to the heart of Christianity the Bible is God-made. That belief is confirmed, not only by its marked superiority to all other books, but also by its spiritual power, its ability to purify and exalt mind, heart, and soul.

While we believe that God wrote the Bible we believe that he wrote it through men, men like David, Isaiah, and Paul. We say that those men were inspired, that is, the Spirit of God took possession of them in such a way that they were able to see visions and understand truth that otherwise would be impossible for them. Perhaps we would understand better what inspiration is if we considered certain similar experiences.

We speak of the "inspiration of the poet." By that we mean that a genius like Tennyson, in a spirit of divine ecstasy, when his usual faculties were remarkably quickened, produced a work of art like "In Memoriam." Lowell, writing "The Vision of Sir Launfal," is another good illustration. For many weeks its main idea had been floating through his mind. It gradually began to take shape. Suggestions, words, and even lines were carefully written down. One day there flashed before Lowell the whole plan of the poem. He shut himself in his study and stayed there for thirty-six hours until the child of his heart and brain had been laid at the feet of the world. An experience like that is intelligible to all.

From the contemplation of such an experience we can get some idea of what the inspiration of the sacred writers means. It means their spiritual elevation to the "heavenly places" of God, and under the stimulus of that elevation bequeathing to the world the songs and stories, the ideals and dreams that fill the pages of Scripture. David, genius, was caught up into glory and while there the power of the Most High helped him to sing the Shepherd Song. John the Divine was "in the spirit on the Lord's Day" and while under the influence of such a state of mind and soul wrote "The Message to the Seven Churches." The other books of the Bible were written under similar conditions.

Notice that such inspiration was concerned primarily with "men" and not with "writings." God filled certain great souls with his message and out of their exuberance of thought and feeling they gave to

the race their interpretations of that message. Before there could have been an inspired book of Isaiah there must have been an inspired Isaiah. The prophecy of Ezekiel is full of glorious visions, but previous to the putting of those visions upon paper the prophet himself saw them spread out before him until his soul caught fire. The epistles of Paul are carefully reasoned expositions of the divine will, but before they had been reduced to their present form the apostle himself had wonderful experiences of the divine presence.

It must be remembered that the sacred writers were inspired along the lines of their special aptitudes. Each book of the Bible bears the impress of its author. The spirit of God did not override the personal peculiarities of prophet and apostle. Those peculiarities were gloriously transfigured until they became mighty agencies in the revealing of truth "hidden from the foundation of the world." David was poet. He could hear the bird singing down in the wood, or catch glint of star in northern sky. He must reproduce the melody of the one and the shining splendor of the other in the measured notes of his harp. Hence we have the Psalms. The writer of the Acts of the Apostles was filled with a divine glory as much as the poet David, but his inspiration took the form of authentic history. Those men were inspired along the lines of their own lives, their feelings, thoughts, motives, abilities, and marked idiosyncrasies. Their strong characteristics were powerfully uplifted. While in that condition they grasped truth that otherwise would not be revealed to them.

Good it is to read in the Old Testatment, "And the word of the Lord came unto Joshua, the son of Nun, saying." Good it is to know that holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Divine Spirit. But suppose that that same fact were true only of those distant days and not of to-day. Suppose that now God never stirred the heart and mind of man to a grasp of new truth. If that were so, dark indeed would be the future. But, blessed be his name, men are inspired now as away back yonder were Daniel and Mark. The Spirit of God holds sweet converse with the spirit of man and helps him to understand the mighty declarations of psalmist and gospeler. Thus new glory lights up the sacred page, fresh meanings of Scripture are discovered. Inspiration is an experience confined to no one age or dispensation. Wherever men are "in the spirit" God opens their eyes to the "wondrous things in his law."

Loda, Ill. GEORGE H. MCCREA.

THE COURSE OF STUDY

PERHAPS now that the General Conference is over, the most sensible course of procedure for Methodists is to forget the things about it they do not approve and try to make effective and dynamic its worthwhile suggestions and enactments.

But public sentiment being such a slowly made Sinai, it may not

be out of place to start discussing some important measures a quadrennium ahead.

And it is hard for the thoughtful student of measures and movements to get over his surprise at the absurdity of the General Conference of a great Church gravely resolving that no books that are out of harmony with our doctrines shall be included in the Course of Study for preachers.

This course of study, be it remembered, is not a special reading course for those who already have the breadth of culture that comes from the schools, to indoctrinate them thoroughly in the essentials of Methodism. It is a *substitute* for the instruction of the schools for those who have not had its advantages.

And in that course (shades of Adam Clarke!) there must be no book that is not in harmony with Methodist orthodoxy.

It is as if a Republican were prepared for his citizenship by a course of study from which anything that would instruct him in the platform and principles of the Democratic party was excluded.

What are we trying to produce—*parrots or men?* Can we not trust our young ministers to learn to think? Is Methodist orthodoxy such a slippery thing that we are afraid it will disappear if our preachers have an uncensored course of study?

Personally I am so convinced of the reasonableness of evangelical Methodism that I think it will shine all the more brightly if compared with other systems of thought.

But the General Conference was evidently afraid that our young men might be upset if they knew what other people were saying or thinking. The tribe of Uzzah is always with us. And they never seem to understand that the everlasting steadying of the ark is not a sign of faith, but of doubt.

RAYMOND HUSE.

Concord, N. H.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH

THE LAW OF FORGIVENESS

Of all the new doctrines proclaimed in the Sermon on the Mount, none is more clearly and positively taught than that a Christian should always be ready to forgive, no matter how unprovoked or grievous the offense committed against him, or how repeatedly he may have been insulted or injured. It is Christ's most striking innovation in the realm of morals, and differs essentially from every other code, ancient or modern. It is distinctly a Christian doctrine. Its practice is possible only to the person filled with the Spirit of Jesus Christ.

The most enlightened philosophers and teachers of ancient Greece and Rome speak of human forgiveness as a virtue, but not a duty, and never as something that should be generally practiced. On the other

hand, mildness of disposition, a forgiving spirit, and leniency toward the man who had injured us were characterized as marks of unmanliness. In proof of this statement, passage after passage might be cited. Vengeance, not forgiveness, was a badge of honor among even the better classes of the most civilized nations. Dr. Seeley in his *Ecce Homo* says: "That man considered himself unfortunate who on his death-bed could not say, in reviewing his past life, that no one had done more good to his friends, or more mischief to his enemies." Even Cicero, generous as he was, fully shared in that sentiment. Exceptions to it were rare; though Seneca is quoted as saying: "Let him early pardon who needs pardon."

If we turn from the heathen world to Israel, we find the doctrine of sin fully emphasized and so, too, the doctrine of *divine* forgiveness. The elaborate system of animal sacrifice is an eloquent plea for the sinfulness of sin and the necessity of atonement in order to secure divine forgiveness. But no such emphasis is placed upon the duty of human forgiveness. True, the terms forgiveness and to forgive are used in connection with the latter, but, usually with limitation, as between members of the same family, clan, or tribe of Israelites, as in the case of Jacob and Esau, Joseph and his brothers, or David and Absalom. When, perchance, it passed beyond the family circle, it was restricted to Hebrews, as e. g. in Lev. 19. 18ff., "Thou shalt not bear any grudge against the children of thy people; but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The phrase "children of thy people" is used in the sense of fellow countrymen, though some think slaves or proselytes may be included.

The duty of kindness toward enemies is clearly taught in the Old Testament as in Prov. 24. 17: "If thine enemy be hungry give him bread to eat, and if he be thirsty give him water to drink." From what we know of the Hebrew character, here, too, the word enemy must be restricted to those of their own people. In their relation to other people the *lex talionis* occupied a most prominent place. "Eye for an eye, and tooth for a tooth." (Matt. 5. 38.)

If we come down to later Jewish history, we notice a distinct progress in regard to the duty of human forgiveness. The following passage from the Babylonian Talmud should be quoted: "When a man sins against another, they forgive him once, they forgive him a second time, they forgive him a third time, but the fourth time they do not forgive him." In support of this declaration the rabbis quote Amos 1. 3; 2. 6 and Job 33. 28f.

It is in vain, however, that we search for the doctrine of unlimited forgiveness before the days of Jesus, and even to-day its observance is only among his true followers. After nearly two thousand years of teaching it is still to many a stumbling block, a rock of offense, not only in practice, but even in theory. No wonder, therefore, that those who do not profess to be the followers of the meek and gentle Nazarene regard his teaching concerning human forgiveness, not only as "an unattainable virtue, but they deny it to be a virtue at all." They boldly teach there are wrongs no one ought to forgive.

Nevertheless the leaven of Christianity is at work. There is an ever increasing number, even outside the Christian Church, even among

those who do not profess Christ as their Saviour, who regard the gentle, the forgiving with far greater respect than they do the revengeful, who delight in retaliation and feed upon vengeance. Thus is verified the beautiful paraphrase: "The Spirit of Christ brooded over the waters, and Christ said, Let there be forgiveness, and there was forgiveness."

In the prayer which the Master taught his disciples, and which we repeat every day, we read: "Forgive us our debts, as we too *have forgiven* our debtors." Notice the tense, for our English versions are not quite true to the Greek. In connection with this petition our Saviour says: "If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you. But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive you your trespasses." One of the fathers, commenting upon this passage, quaintly says: "He makes us masters of the forgiveness of our own sins."

Peter's question to the great Teacher brought out most explicitly the law of the Kingdom regarding the relation of its members to an erring member: "How oft shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him? Until seven times? Jesus saith unto him, I say not seven times, but until seventy times seven." (Matt. 15. 21.)

From the above utterance of our Lord, two things are clear: First, there is a complete analogy between the law of divine and human forgiveness. Or, as one has put it: "There is, indeed, no indication of any fundamental difference between the forgiveness which the Christian wins from God and that which he in turn bestows upon his brother." The words of St. Paul in his letter to the Colossians (3. 13) are apposite: "Even as the Lord has forgiven you so also do ye." Let us repeat and emphasize Christ's declaration: "Forgive us our debts as we too *have* forgiven our debtors." Second, there is to be no limit to our forgiveness. Our Father in heaven will forgive us, no matter how often we have offended, if we humbly confess our sins and repent. What we expect him to do for us, and what he has promised to do, we, too, must do for those who have sinned against us. This we must do as often as they penitently ask our forgiveness. No wonder, when our Lord uttered the law in the dawn of Christianity that the disciples were dumfounded with his teaching and exclaimed: "Lord, increase our faith."

Perhaps no one has had a deeper insight into the Sermon on the Mount than Dr. Tholuck. Among other things he says: "Forgiveness is not an isolated act, which must take place at some definite moment, and then is past and irrevocable, but it must be regarded as ever going forward, as running parallel with and extending over the entire life of the redeemed, which, as it is a life of continual sin and shortcoming, so has need to be a life of continual forgiveness. Seeing, however, that it is an act which extends over the whole life of the individual and reaches its culminating point in eternity, it behooves us to consider the compassion of God for man, and man for his brethren, as reciprocally calling forth and affording a basis for one another." As long as we poor erring men expect God to forgive us for our frequent shortcomings, we, too, must be willing to show the same spirit toward those who have offended and

injured us, ever remembering that "forgiveness is as constant a trait of true Christian character as is faith or dependence upon God for mercy."

The question of forgiving one another cannot be intelligently discussed without considering our Saviour's words on the Cross: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." (Luke 23. 34.) This prayer was not for the Roman soldiers alone, who were intrusted with the crucifixion, but much more for the Jewish leaders who had persuaded Pilate to crucify Jesus Christ. It is in perfect harmony with his teaching elsewhere, as well as with the spirit of many a martyr for the truth, and especially of the first martyr, Saint Stephen, who, when brutally stoned to death by the enraged Jews under the leadership of the priest and those high in authority, cried out: "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." How literally is the injunction obeyed, "Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you." (Matt. 5. 44.)

Forgiveness though unlimited is not unconditional. Our Lord distinctly taught that there must be repentance on the offender's part, who must sue for pardon. This is most reasonable and logical. To overlook all injury and insult and to forgive without regard to the offender's state of mind would be of no benefit to the transgressor. For as long as the transgressor's heart is filled with hatred, ill-will, and vengeance, forgiveness to such a one would be useless, yea, in most cases positively wrong and harmful, since it would tend to increase rather than decrease hostility in a depraved heart. Not only must there be sincere, genuine repentance, there must also be all possible reparation for the wrong done. Repentance for sin on the sinner's part is an absolute condition for entrance into the Kingdom of God founded by Jesus Christ. One of his first proclamations is, "Repent ye." This was also the corner-stone of John the Baptist's preaching. His language is explicit: "Bring forth, therefore, fruit worthy of repentance." The case of Zacchæus illustrates the same truth. Not only was he a penitent sinner, but he made besides a four-fold reparation and a liberal sacrifice as a token of his repentance for past offenses. The life of the apostle Paul was one continuous manifestation of penitence and sorrow for the wrongs inflicted by him on the early church. His entire time after his conversion was spent in building up the Kingdom which he had tried in vain to overthrow.

There can be, however, no greater error than to think that the enemy, or he who has wronged us, should be left severely alone, until after he shows sincere repentance and a desire to make reparation for his offenses against us. The offended or injured party must not stand superciliously on his dignity and nourish the injuries done him or cherish ill-will toward the one who has offended him. He must, rather, be ready for reconciliation, must lose no opportunity to make it easy for the guilty one to manifest his penitence. Nay more, even if the latter shows no sign of repentance, the offended party is positively commanded to make advances in order that reconcilement may be effected. Dr. Whedon, a former editor of this Review, has stated the case most clearly: "While his enemy is raging with insane fury, he is calmly to study by what skillful application of touching kindness he can transform the lion to a

lamb. By so doing he attains a victory; but that is the smallest part of the matter. He has transformed an enemy to a friend; and what is better than either, he has perhaps converted a sinner from his error and saved a soul from death." (See Commentary Matt. 5. 43.)

Were it not for this attitude of the heavenly Father toward his erring children salvation would be an impossibility. Let his method of dealing with sinners serve us as a model in dealing with those who have sinned against us.

Both aspects of this method and truth are plainly brought out in several of the parables, especially in that of the Prodigal Son. The deep humility and sincere penitence of the erring child are more than eclipsed by the forgiving spirit and magnanimity of a loving father. "While he was still afar off, his father ran and fell on his neck and kissed him." Those of us who have had similar experiences will not quibble as to whether the father knew that the returning son was fully penitent. The old father had been anxiously waiting ever since the wayward boy had left the old home. No sooner had he caught a glimpse of him than he ran to welcome and caress him. And all this before there was time for a single word of confession or expression of penitence.

The parable teaches most emphatically that there is no time to insist upon one's rights, if there is a possibility of appeasing an enemy and thereby bringing him into the Kingdom of God, where both justice and love prevail. "The justice of God," says Rhondda Williams, "is loving and the love of God is just. There can be no difference between this justice and love of God. Real justice is the passion to win others to be just."

How true it is that we injure ourselves spiritually more by our unforgiving spirit than we do any one else. Hatred and vengeance in the soul limit our spiritual capacity. It is ever the business of the true Christian to work for the transformation and conversion and welfare, rather than for the punishment of the offender. Let it be remembered that the infliction of punishment is not inconsistent with the highest type of love. However, our own injuries must be relegated to the background when no other means may convert a sinner. The personal interests of an injured Christian are secondary if insistence upon them make the repentance and transformation of the offender impossible.

But, as already said, real justice is love, and love, like a skillful surgeon or a kind-hearted father, must sometimes inflict pain. "Whom the Lord loveth, he chastiseth." The exaction of penalty should never be in the spirit of revenge, but ever tempered with mercy, love for the wrong doer and sincere desire for his reclamation. The father who truly loves his child cannot afford to wink at disobedience or wickedness. If the rod is spared, the child may be spoiled. Nevertheless, love must be in all cases a prominent factor, though punishment, severe punishment, is perfectly consistent with forgiveness, mercy, and love. Reform schools and penitentiaries are not merely places for punishment, but, as the terms imply, institutions where penance may be done and where one may repent of his wicked acts. This is emphasized more and more in the management of our penal institutions. A Christian is not to hate those within prison

walls, no matter how atrocious their crimes, or how much we, personally, may have been wronged or injured by them. On the other hand, our duty, as far as in our power, is to lead them to a better life, a higher plane of living. No doubt many depraved men have feigned penitence and abused the confidence and kindly offices of merciful persons. We are not for that reason to cease our efforts for their reformation until every effort in their behalf has been exhausted. Some one has well said: "It is a common belief that a person capable of committing an atrocious wrong must be incapable of repenting of it, and such person's confessions are accordingly contemptuously disregarded. When, therefore, people consider it mean to forgive extreme injuries they are really setting a limit to the duty of forgiveness."

Let us now ask, do the laws of the Kingdom concerning forgiveness apply to individuals only or do they extend to communities and nations as well? Baumgarten, a German theologian of some repute, said at the beginning of the war, that the Sermon on the Mount cannot be applied to nations and peoples. His utterance was condemned by American theologians at the time, and, as we believe, justly so. We have passed through the greatest, if not the most cruel war in history, God be praised that it is over. The church has been stunned by the shock. Barbarism for the time seemed to have banished civilization. Many good men and women have been swept apparently from their moorings, and virtually say that the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount are beyond the reach of human nature. In this they are right, if they simply mean unregenerated human nature. Even our church leaders seem to be in a dilemma as to our duties to those recently at war with the United States. Thank God, the horrible carnage, with its untold miseries, ruthless atrocities, and nameless crimes, is over. The results of the war remain and will remain for many years to come, no matter what ultimate good God may bring out of the great evil. Not to punish those responsible would be suicidal, a crime not only against the innocent sufferers, but against the guilty perpetrators as well, only in a much greater degree. "To indulge the spirit of revenge, keep alive the fires of hate, and to fan the flames of passion would be equally, if not more, blameworthy. No greater harm could happen to the persons or nations who unleashed the dogs of war than to have the world shut its eyes to their crime and to make their punishment light."

David Lloyd George in his speech to the House of Commons, July 3, 1919, referred to the matter thus: "Officers who are guilty of these things in a moment of arrogance, feeling that their power is irresistible, to do what they please, ought to know in the future that they will be personally responsible. . . . What injustice is there in that? What undue harshness? It is the averting of it, it is making it impossible for the future."

The great Prime Minister freely admitted that the terms of peace are "terrible," but, nevertheless, "such as in the long run will prove beneficial to all the world, and not the least to Germany herself. The object is not vengeance, but reformation and discouragement from ever repeat-

ing the crimes of Belgium, northern France, and the submarine barbarism." Speaking of the exclusion of Germany from the League of Nations, he added: "If she shows that the fires of war have really purified her soul, if she realizes that her policy during the past fifty years was a bitter mistake, then she can accelerate the date—I hope she will try—that she will realize that her defeat has been her salvation—has rid her of militarism, of Junkers, of Hohenzollernisms. She has paid a big price for her deliverance. I think that she will find that it is worth it all, and when she does, Germany will then be a fit member of the League of Nations."

These words have in them a true ring, worthy of the great Christian statesman. Harsh and severe as the conditions are, they are needed to restore confidence and ultimate reconciliation and the era of good feeling and brotherhood. By them the German people may be relieved of an overwhelming burden of pride, conceit, and tyranny which had become unbearable, of an unchristian spirit detrimental and injurious to the human race. The price is exceedingly great, but not too great, if it results in making all men and nations dwell together in unity, and transforms this sin-cursed world into a paradise, a safe place in which to live.

The realization of such a state is possible only when hatred and revenge shall vanish, when justice and love shall join hands and when the principles proclaimed by the Prince of Peace shall rule in the heart of humanity. Not only must the Germans repent, but all must cultivate the spirit of forgiveness. There is no salvation without sincere repentance, nor is there salvation without a disposition and readiness to forgive. "If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will He forgive you your trespasses."

BOOK NOTICES

The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I. The Acts of the Apostles. Edited by F. J. Foakes Jackson, D.D., and Kirsopp Lake, D.D. Vol. I, Prolegomena I, The Jewish, Gentile, and Christian Background. London: Macmillan & Co. 1920. Pp. x+480. 18s. net.

In 1913 the Macmillans intrusted to the scholars named above the continuation of the work of Lightfoot in editing Christian documents historically and critically; and as shedding light on the history of the church down to, say, 313. This is the first, therefore, of a long series of volumes. And this is only the first of others on the Beginnings, and this first is only one of three on the Acts of the Apostles, the second to be entitled Prolegomena II, Criticism, which is in the press, and the third to be a text and commentary on Acts. It is refreshing to have a scheme so worthily conceived and to be carried out on so broad and extensive lines, as it is an evidence that the Great War has not frightened English publishers from voluminous undertakings. It is a happy idea, also, to unite Oxford and Cambridge with America, as the editors are from those ancient

schools and both live in America in what would be in England despised "dissenting" schools. Jackson is a graduate of Trinity, and fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, author of books in Church History, etc., and, since 1916 professor of Christian Institutions in Union Theological Seminary, New York. Lake is a graduate of Lincoln College, Oxford, served as curate, professor of the New Testament at University of Leyden, 1904-13, and, since 1914, professor of early Christian literature at Harvard, both now luxuriating under the ample endowments of two very rich American institutions. Like Lightfoot, they are Americans, but unlike him, who was equally free, equally impartial, and because older more learned, they represent the most radical type of criticism, reminding one of Baur, Pfleiderer, and other very "advanced" Dutch and German critics in their keen, cool, extreme rationalism and bold reconstructions of the history and cuttings out of the text.

The book has three main divisions, the Jewish World, the Gentile World, and Primitive Christianity; ten chapters, four appendices, and indexes of subjects and texts. Under the Jewish World: "Background of Jewish History," by the editors; "Spirit of Judaism," by Montefiore (a learned English Jew); "Varieties of Thought and Practice in Judaism," by the editors, and "The Dispersion," by the editors. Under the Gentile World: "Roman Provincial System," by Duckworth, and "Life in the Roman Empire at the Beginning of the Christian Era," by C. H. Moore. Under Primitive Christianity: "Public Teaching of Jesus and His Choice of the Twelve Disciples at Jerusalem," and the "Rise of Gentile Christianity"; "Development of Thought on the Spirit, the Church, and Baptism, and Christology," all these four chapters being by editors Jackson and Lake.

The value of the several chapters is in the inverse proportion to their nearness to the original documents and history of Christianity itself. In fact the editors think those documents (Gospels, Acts, etc.) have been so changed by different editors, the original writer also having apparently not too much love of truth, that the question occurs whether it were worth while to waste so much time in investigating a phenomenon even so imposing as Christianity, which rests on books so legendary, to our age so lying, the footballs of successive unscrupulous redactors, and therefore so worthless. Even Mark, who is the most valuable witness, is not at all reliable, being a "primary authority" not for Jesus but for the apostolic age (p. 268), that is, for his own views and prejudices and aims and those who shared them. Then there is Q, but what is Q? The authors themselves acknowledge that it is only the "result of subjective criticism," and that it is a mistake to attribute "objective value" to it; and yet, though it is only the mechanical product of critics' guesses, our learned editors build on it as though it were as objectively certain as Gibraltar. Nor is it significant when Matthew and Luke agree. They cannot be trusted—"it is well to remember that much subjective criticism is necessary in dealing with Matthew and Luke" (p. 269). Stephen's speech was invented by the writer (p. 308). The view of Baur that Acts is a *Tendenzschrift*, written to gloss over the essential differences between Paul and the other

apostles, is revived, with new evidences of Acts' imperfections and bad faith thrown in.

In a book notice there is not space to give another side, but one or two remarks may be allowed for poor Paul and his first historian. Paul's attitude to the law was this (compare p. 311), meaning especially the ceremonial law, and particularly circumcision. Jews, when they accept Christ, are free from the law as bondage, though they are perfectly free to keep it if they desire, and in any case they should not insist on Gentiles keeping it. It was this last freedom on which Paul was insistent. Paul had other reasons for seeing Peter outside the "implication that Peter was the chief person" in Jerusalem. After the council of Jerusalem James did *not* insist that Gentile converts should be "treated as proselytes" and circumcised (p. 312). Fundamental difference here between so called Petrine and Pauline parties after that council is a fiction. Nor is there any contradiction between Paul and Matt. 5. 17ff. Paul agreed with Christ that receiving the gospel was the very way to bring the law to its highest fulfillment. The familiar objection to "Go ye into all the world" that the disciples "needed so much persuasion that a mission to the Gentiles was not improper" (p. 317) falls, when we remember what our minds are not prepared for makes but little or no impression on us, that they were told to tarry in Jerusalem and to begin from Jerusalem (that is, Palestine itself was to be their first field), and that on the other hand they really did not need "much persuasion," as they entered doors as they were opened. It was not the Gentile mission in itself, but the Gentile mission not *via* Judaism, and even this they gave up on new light.

It is not a matter of importance, but it is an instance of the flimsy evidence seized hold of by the authors to support views in which they are interested, when they infer that the objurgatory references to writings of heretics in Jewish books of second half of the first and of the second century mean the existence of Aramaic gospels (p. 320). There is no evidence of this whatever. All intelligent Jews knew Greek and wrote in Greek, and they would be just as much concerned in the suppression of Greek Gospels as Aramaic or Hebrew. "It is not necessary to accept the belief" that it was the Spirit who was poured forth on the Day of Pentecost, as "modern psychology may explain the facts better." Why can't the Spirit work through the laws of the soul? There is no contradiction between pentecostal outpouring and John 20. 22, as the latter is a preparatory announcement or anticipatory gift, while Pentecost is an actual bestowment for preaching and conversion in a crisis. See p. 323. Nor does the "editor" who fixed up Acts 2 "interpret" the gift as "speaking foreign languages," for he emphasizes the *hearing* (each hears the message in his own tongue), as though the miracle were perhaps in the hearing. The authors say that in Jewish thought the gift of the Spirit made one a prophet and worker of miracles, while the later Catholic doctrine of that gift was that it gave one a new nature, eternal life, or made one divine, which doctrine the church got from heathen philosophy and magic (p. 325). But the prophets show that the Jews were entirely at home in the idea of a new birth and of religious revival through outpouring of the Spirit, and,

while heathen ideas did influence later Christian thought and practice, they did not at all influence the doctrines just referred to. Acts 20. 28 is *not* corrupt, though there is a variation of manuscripts as to "Church of God" (the most ancient) and "Church of Christ," but no variation as to purchasing or acquiring by his own blood. It's a fiction that Matthew has a different theory as to the foundation of the church than Acts; neither has a "theory." It's a mistake and the Judaistic controversy negatives Matt. 16. 13ff., or that επετίμησε should be translated "rebuked" in verse 20. Another is that Matthew "completely rewrote" Matt. 8. 27ff. in Matt. 16. 13ff. Mark wants to give the Romans a compact, concise, vivid story of fact, Matthew to give a fuller account. Neither invents the story, nor is there in Matthew any "supremacy of Peter," but simply the historic fact that Christ was to build his church upon Peter's confession, and upon him, as of course upon all his disciples. "In Acts the church is assumed to be the society of those who through the Lord Jesus have received the Holy Spirit. This is in all essentials the Catholic position" (p. 332). Is it? It is also the Protestant position and even the Quaker position. "The evidence of Acts is convincing proof that the tradition embodied in Matt. 28. 19 is late and unhistorical" (p. 337). That's interesting. The disciples were told to tarry at Jerusalem and begin there. Peter himself is the first to go to the Gentiles in the case of Cornelius. It was not so much the Gentile mission as the non-circumcision of the heathen, which was at first a difficulty. The reluctance to go to the Gentiles is greatly exaggerated by our authors, who also invent a lot of difficulties and contradictions in regard to baptism. As Jews the first Christians were bound to baptize (they would have done that whether Christ commanded it or not), and as Christians they were bound to baptize in the name of Christ. The gift of the Spirit came in response to faith, either in connection with baptism or as preparatory to it, or following it.

Space forbids the going into the very radical chapter on Christology. Of course every text in the Gospels which teaches any deeper view of Christ is peremptorily thrown out from the start as interpolated by redactors. Nor was Christ really Messiah, Son of Man, nor Son of God, nor was there any Jewish doctrine that, if he were, he was to suffer—that was a "discovery" of redactors after he did suffer, redactors who must have been fearfully unscrupulous. Still our learned authors confess after it is all over that "they are well aware that much of what they have written is controversial and doubtful" (417-8). Yes, indeed, it is both, after they have turned the original records of our faith into a tissue of legends and prevarications (for that is really how they leave the documents), following in the wake of German rationalists, to whom they occasionally refer in the notes (of course they would not deny that there is much scholarship in Germany of another tenor). We advise our readers to consult in connection with the work before us such books as Chase's Credibility of the Acts, those by Sir William M. Ramsey, even Von Harnack's studies of Luke and the Acts; Prof. Hayes's Synoptic Gospels and Book of Acts (1919), Prof. A. T. Robertson, Luke the Historian on the Light of Today (Scribners, 1920), on Matt. 28. 19, the first chapter in

Crises in the Early Church published by our Concern in 1912, and the commentaries on Acts (older) of Hackett, Gloag, Meyer, and (newer) Rackham, Andrews, Bartlet, and books on Apostolic Age by Bartlet, Purves, Lechler, Ropes, etc.

J. A. Faulkner.

The Life of General William Booth. The Founder of the Salvation Army. By Harold Begbie. Two volumes, 8vo, pp. xv+446, xv+465. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $10.50.

It is a bold undertaking in these days of the high price of paper to produce two volumes of such size. Our first impression is that the art of condensation might have been practiced to advantage, but on second consideration we are inclined to think that Mr. Begbie is justified in spreading out his story and giving full particulars. Even the repetitions are permissible because they help to elucidate varying phases of a manysided life. This is not simply the biography of a remarkable man, but the history of a worldwide movement which has beneficently influenced the destinies of many thousands of lives in every nation. The illustrations are good, but we should have had more than one cartoon, for caricatures frequently give a better impression than many pages of description. It was inevitable that conventional religion would be shocked by the methods and mannerisms of this firebrand, but there is no defense of the extremes to which the churches went in checkmating the efforts of William Booth, moved as he was by an overmastering passion to save men and women, and succeeding as he did in places where the influence of the church had been null and void. When he was received by Edward VII, the King asked him: "Tell me, General, how do you get on now with the churches? What is their attitude toward you?" To which the veteran replied as his eyes twinkled: "Sir, they imitate me." He realized from the first that the chief part of his mission was to awaken the church to a hope of spiritual victory. That he succeeded beyond his sanguine expectations is a matter of history. The type of social Christianity now popular among the churches was largely the outcome of the activities of the Salvation Army. Bishop Lightfoot bore eloquent testimony when he said: "Whatever may be its faults, it has at least recalled us to this lost ideal of the work of the church—the universal compulsion of the souls of men." It is a sad reflection on the shortsightedness of the church that William Booth should have had such hard treatment meted out to him. Officialdom could never handle a personality so electric and electrifying, so unconventional and sensational. His fervor bordered on fanaticism which could brook no barriers. When he finally broke away he was practically driven out by the religious authorities who had harassed him at every turn and did not fail to boycott him in strangely sinister ways. One of his sayings reveals the situation: "The day has gone when the priest and the Levite are content to pass by the wounded man. They must needs stop now, turn back, and punch the head of any good Sa-

maritan who dares to come to the rescue." All this sounds incredible and it is a warning to the modern church to be careful how it treats the independent prophets of God who, however, present their credentials, even though their ways may not pass the tests of a staid ecclesiasticism. We can understand the violent abuse of men like Huxley, who were out of sympathy with Christianity, although their Pharisaic scorn and bitterness only exposed the petty provincialism of their outlook on life. But the bearing of the churches was both intolerable and inexcusable. The warning is all the more timely because of the failure of the churches in the recent *débacle* as acknowledged by the leaders themselves. The career of General Booth was one of struggle and suffering from his early days. He was familiar with poverty and distress all through the years, but we find him in the closing days of a tumultuous life universally respected, maintaining a firm confidence in God, and continuing in his eagerness to relieve men, women, and children in all parts of the world. The record of his travels in different countries on behalf of the cause is an amazing recital. It was well said that he combined the apostolic fervor of John Wesley with the organizing genius of Kitchener. He united in his personality the two qualities of passionate sympathy and imperious masterfulness, which made him a unique leader and enabled him to produce fortunes out of the waste material of human life. In spite of the rapid fire of sharp and scurrilous criticism, he pursued his course without any deviation. The integrity of his motives, his unflinching honesty, his unchanging disinterestedness, his consistent self-denial can be explained only by his irrepressible practical love for his fellow men. It cannot be said too often that the secret of his success was his "discovery of the enormous influence of love and kindness in dealing with fallen humanity." The endurance of faith and the patience of hope, also so markedly characteristic of him, appear in letters and addresses and above all in his exalted demeanor. He once wrote: "God and time will fight for me; I must wait, and my comrades must wait with me." He was often charged with being an autocrat, and this aspect of his character is impartially considered by Begbie. "He learned from experience that to get anything done well and swiftly, autocracy was essential. He could not suffer his work to be hindered by committees and councils. He could not stop on his road to discuss matters of casuistry or questions of finance. He was always inveighing against 'government by talk.' He had upon his hands a work of gigantic magnitude, and after a long and grievous experience of committees, he determined in middle age—encouraged by the most able and devoted of his followers—to make himself an autocrat. His autocracy, then, was not for personal aggrandizement, certainly not for villainy or despotic socialism, but was established solely and publicly for the sake of the righteous work to which he had set his hand. Moreover, it was an autocracy which depended absolutely on the loyalty of his followers—an autocracy which guarded itself by rules laid down for its own limitation." Even when he favored his own children in appointing them to important positions he held them strictly to the regulations of

the Army, and reminded them that in these matters he was first general and then father. "Despotic by temperament and by habit and by conviction, he was nevertheless a simple man at heart, hallowed by a love which sweetened his tumultuous mind, and held to his course by a dogmatic faith which was the very breath of his existence." The enthusiasm which he aroused was not allowed to spend itself in mere emotionalism. It was organized, controlled and directed into channels of usefulness, to which the marvelous achievements of the Salvation Army bear such eloquent testimony, since it was established in 1878. The inspiring genius of this movement of redemption was Catherine Mumford, who in 1855 became the wife and guardian angel of William Booth, and whose sacrificing labors earned for her the title of "The Mother of the Salvation Army." There is nothing in literature to surpass the story of these two elect spirits. Begbie has done well in giving extensive quotations from their letters to each other, and in recounting the struggles they endured in raising their family on a pittance while conducting the greatest revival of modern times. The last two years of her life were spent in intense physical pain and the anguish of her husband, overburdened with exacting tasks, had the pathos of tragedy. There is an entry in his diary which refers to this dark night of his soul: "I am sixty years old, and for the first time during all these long years, so far as memory serves me, has God, in infinite mercy, allowed me to have any sorrow that I could not cast on Him." The address at the grave of his wife shows the courage which adorned his character: "My work plainly is to fill up the weeks, the days, and the hours, and cheer my poor heart as I go along with the thought that when I have served my Christ and my generation according to the will of God, which I vow this afternoon I will do to the last drop of my blood—then I trust that she will bid me welcome to the skies, as He bade her." When General Booth received the freedom of the city of London in 1905 he spoke before the mayor and corporation with modesty and dignity. "My life has been a continual fight. Ever since, some sixty years ago, I turned my back upon a world of ease and pleasure and show, and entered on this battlefield to fight for the honor of my Heavenly King and for the salvation of the lost, there has seldom been a day in which some bewildering perplexity has not come to my mind and some heavy burden has not been laid upon my heart. But still the arms of Jehovah have sustained me, and the prayers of a multitude of the best and choicest spirits that the world contains have ascended continually to Heaven on my behalf. And now there comes along the sympathy—openly, beautifully, eloquently expressed—of the governing powers of this great city to urge me forward in the fight in which I am engaged." In 1907 he received the honorary degree of D. C. L. at Oxford. The letter of Lord Curzon to him reflects the conviction of the world's leadership concerning the life service of this saint, seer, and statesman of the kingdom of God: "This is probably one of the few honors which you would be willing to accept. To me it would be an even higher honor to be the instrument of conferring it; for I should like the famous and ancient university of which I am

now the head, and which has played so notable a part in the history of our country—to have the privilege of setting its seal upon the noble work you have done for so many years, and are continuing to do, for the people of all countries—a work excelled in range and beneficence by that of no living man." We close with this representative testimony and refer the reader to the two volumes which narrate the life and labors of one of the most valiant and chivalrous figures in the annals of Christian history.

The Christian Year in Human Story. By JANE T. STODDART. 8vo, pp. xii, 342. New York: Hodder & Stoughton. Price, $2.50 net.

THE conventional arrangement known as the Church Year has decided advantages to the preacher who uses it aright. He is able to cover a wide range of subjects in the course of a year's pulpit ministry. Most of us are inclined to travel in grooves, to emphasize only a limited circle of ideas, and to hold partial views of truth. We are apt to become onesided in the choice and treatment of themes, to follow the line of least resistance, to become absorbed in topics of the passing day, and to overlook the essential truths of permanent value. There is, moreover, hesitation to preach doctrinal sermons and the failure to do so largely accounts for the present religious confusion. The misunderstanding of Christianity shown by the men at the front was a serious criticism of the modern pulpit. We had not made enough of a teaching ministry, with the result that vast numbers of the laity, members in good standing of the churches, found themselves unable to take a positive Christian attitude in the face of the stern antagonisms of the war. The solution is clear, but the working out of it makes exacting demands on the preacher. But there is no other alternative. We must give proof of being good stewards of the manifold grace of God and help to build up Christian character in accordance with the whole counsel of God. Dr. R. W. Dale states in his volume on Christian Doctrine that it was his custom to draw up in December or January a list of the subjects on which he resolved to preach during the following twelve months. He found that this practice insured a certain fullness and completeness in his presentation of the Christian faith. One of these lists included central topics like the Incarnation, the Divinity of Christ, the Personality of the Spirit, the Trinity, Sin, the Atonement, Faith, Justification, Life in Christ, Regeneration, Sanctification, Judgment to Come. Those who are familiar with his books know that he did not deal with these questions like a professor of systematic theology but as a preacher in close pastoral contact with the life of his congregation. In the early days of his ministry, Dale met a minister who observed: "I hear that you are preaching doctrinal sermons to the congregation at Carr's Lane; they will not stand it." To which he answered rather emphatically: "They will have to stand it." His ministry of increasing power justified his courageous decision, and should encourage all preachers to follow his noble example.

One of the practical ways in which this might be done is to follow the great seasons of the church year. A few of the more

prominent days, like Christmas, Good Friday, Easter and Whitsunday, obtain recognition, but we can with advantage include Advent, Epiphany, Lent, Ascensiontide, and Trinity Sunday. Such an observance will furthermore give breadth to the preacher's outlook and enrich the thought and life of the congregation. Miss Stoddart's volume on The Christian Year is very acceptable for this purpose. She has already given us two volumes on the Old Testament in life and literature and a companion on The New Testament. The same unusual catholicity of literary taste and the ability of discerning selection of what is appropriate and helpful mark this third volume. She is an expert in bringing together relevant passages from the extensive fields of poetry, biography, history, travel and sermonic literature both Roman Catholic and Protestant, to elucidate the Epistles, Gospels, and Lessons for the different seasons of the church year. It is much more than a volume of handy quotations. It is really a history of Christian usage during the centuries. The chapter on "The Advent Season" opens with this paragraph: "When autumn leaves are dropping amid fog and rain, the Advent trumpet bids Christians put off the works of darkness and put on the armor of light. Shadows flock in swift procession toward the keystone of winter's arch, and there is danger for the soul in thick, silent weather. Bunyan's pilgrims are guarded in the van and the rear when mist denotes their nearness to the enchanted ground. Collects and Scriptures of Advent warn us and plead with us. Take care, they seem to say, lest some fiend or dragon or giant or thief should fall upon you and so do mischief. Walk sword in hand, for this is a perilous place." Each chapter is a rich repository of Scripture exposition culled from many sources, and these sidelights suggestively bear upon Sacred Writ. It is also interesting to read of notable occasions when particular passages were used: "Voices of martyrs and confessors blend with songs of the faithful on earth at Easter's dawn." A cento of testimonies illustrates this statement. One chapter is on "Sundays after Trinity—xvi to xx." These generally fall in busy October. "In this 'season of mists and mellow fruitfulness,' the life of cities and churches resumes its activity. Harvest is past, summer ended. Now we welcome drawn curtains and the autumn fires." This period is followed by "the waning church year, drawing to its close amid rain and darkness, but eyes are lifted like those of travelers who see in the distance the snow peaks of Alps or Pyrenees." For biographical preaching there is good material in the chapter on "Some Illustrations for Saints' Days." There is a full index with two lists of "Scriptures Proper for Sundays" and "Scriptures Proper for Holy Days." It is a book calculated to quicken the imagination, to stimulate meditation and to rouse thought in helpful directions. The preacher who is beginning his busy work of the fall and winter will find here much that is helpful to make his pulpit work increasingly profitable.

A Bunch of Everlastings; or, Texts That Made History. A Volume of Sermons. By F. W. Boreham. 12mo, pp. 256. New York: The Abingdon Press. Price, $1.75 net.

The announcement of a new book by Boreham never fails to meet with a hearty welcome from a multitude of readers. His essays scintillate with flashes of insight. They are written in a clear style, illuminated with illustrations and full of telling points. His simplicity is a sign of high art, his humor is a mark of his humanity, his genius for seeing the sublime in the commonplace bespeaks an understanding of values. How many preachers are indebted to him and how many congregations have been benefited since their ministers gave themselves to the study of Boreham! Eight volumes of essays by this man with the open mind and the gift of observation are now followed by a volume of sermons in commemoration of the divine guidance during twenty-five years in the Christian ministry. Needless to say these sermons are unique both in the arrangement of material and the manner of treatment. They are biographical and historical in character and drive home the truth, greatly needed to-day, that the preachers who brought cheer and peace confined themselves to the eternal verities centering in Jesus Christ. No preacher can fail who keeps close to Christ and uses every resource to commend Him.

These twenty-three sermon essays are on the ruling ideas in the lives of some of the makers of Christian history. In every case Boreham discovers a Scripture passage which influenced them, and it is illustrated by a wealth of incidents in their own lives and in the lives of others. What changed Thomas Chalmers from an ineffective preacher of morality which perplexed his congregations to a comforting preacher of mercy? It was the text, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." How explain the marvelous career of Martin Luther, whose entrance into life flooded Europe with the sunshine of God and pointed to thousands the way of freedom? It was the creative sentence, "The just shall live by faith," which ushered in the new day of Protestantism, first in the heart of the reformer and then wherever its liberating truth has been accepted, even to our own day. What sustained Sir John Franklin the Arctic explorer, for seven years Lieutenant Governor of Van Diemen's Land, now Tasmania, who died on his last expedition after the long-sought Northwest Passage? The answer is found in a passage marked on the page of a frozen copy of Todd's Student's Manual. In that paragraph occur the encourgaing words, "Fear not; when thou passeth through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee." Where was the flame kindled which kept lighted that lamp of God, Thomas Boston, whose fruitful ministry in the Ettrick valley was continued after his death through his book, The Fourfold State? It was the captivating evangel, "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." What guided Hugh Latimer, the people's preacher, whose force of character and ability led him from the plowshare to the palace and thence to the stake

with Nicholas Ridley? The words, "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief." This text first captured Thomas Bilney, the Cambridge student in Erasmus's Latin translation of the New Testament, who then passed on the truth to Latimer, to whom he sent for confession.

John Bunyan found peace in the promise, "Him that cometh to me, I will in nowise cast out." Sir Walter Scott's industrious career is explained by three Greek words, "The Night Cometh," which he had engraved upon the sundial placed in the center of his lawn. Oliver Cromwell found inspiration for his career, which made him the Protector of the Commonwealth, from the assuring sentence, "I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me." Francis Xavier was arrested for missionary service by the startling question, "But what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" John B. Gough came to himself by the memory of what his mother taught him that, "He is able to save to the uttermost them that come unto God by him." John Knox led in the revival of religion in Scotland with the evangel contained in the text, "Thou hast given him authority over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him, and this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." William Cowper wrote "There is a fountain filled with blood," because he had experienced the truth, "Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth to be a propitation, through faith in his blood, to manifest his righteousness." David Livingstone went to Africa and labored in the Dark Continent till his death, in the strength of the pledged words, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." C. H. Spurgeon was started on his unique pulpit ministry by a local preacher in a Primitive Methodist chapel on a wintry morning, whose sermon was on "Look unto me and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth." William Carey became the prophet of foreign missions because he believed and caused others to believe that the task of the church is to "lengthen thy cords and strengthen thy stakes, for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall inhereit the Gentiles and make the desolate cities to be inhabited." John Wesley, made restless by the words, "Thou art not very far from the kingdom of God," then found his heart strangely warmed when he trusted Christ at the ever memorable meeting in Aldersgate Street.

What great texts for sermons of uplift! and there are others in this volume; but we must quote no more in justice to Bonham. Get his book, for it will surely refresh every pilgrim to the City Beautiful.

The Disease and the Remedy of Sin. By the Rev. W. Mackintosh Mackay, B.D. George H. Doran Company, New York. Price, $2.50.

This big book approaches the subject of Religious Psychology from a new view-point, that of moral pathology and spiritual thera-

peutics. The relation between sin and disease is more than mere analogy, for soul and body meet in the unity of personality. God in the Old Testament is called Jehovah-Rophi, the Healer, and the same word, healer, is a primary meaning of the New Testament word, Saviour. Sin is soul-sickness, a disease of the will, and the Kingdom of God is a celestial sanatorium, where the Great Physician applies the medicine of his own making, the cure of the cross.

The author, a student both in medicine and theology, has given us more than a theoretical treatise, he has furnished ministers and religious workers with a practical hand book for the treatment of moral invalidism. He begins with a careful clinic of the maladies of the mind, describing the symptoms and sources of sin, followed by an acute analysis of spiritual diseases, those of the flesh, the heart and the spirit. He fails, however, to sufficiently note the central spiritual sin, that of religious pride, or presumption, that peculiarly Satanic sin, which our Lord himself faced in the temple temptation.

Part II treats of the Remedy of Sin, central in which is that divine specific, the Cross of Christ, curing through its cleansing power of sorrow, sacrifice and the purgation of conscience. This heavenly remedy for earth's direst plague is applied through prayer, the tonic atmosphere of the sanctuary, sacramental suggestions, and spiritual surgery. Sin is death and salvation is life. The final issue of holy healing is that "mortality is swallowed up of life."

Perhaps the most useful part of the book is its very able treatment of conversion, both as crisis, the soul's sudden transformation, and as lysis, the more gradual method of moral recovery. These spiritual processes get new meanings when stated in the concrete terms of the medical art, rather than the more abstract phrases of religious psychology. A most beautiful chapter is that on the Faith of Little Children. He fully recognizes the "defect of blood," the inherited taint in the child, which calls for cure as well as care, but also sees that in that cure the atmosphere of a holy environment, with Christian culture, will help to counteract the germs of evil. Prevention is not only better than cure, it is an important element in cure.

Luminous learning meets with spiritual insight in this treatise which will have high worth to all who are charged with the care of souls.

Cardinal Mercier's Own Story. By His Eminence, D. J. Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Malines. 8vo, pp. 441. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $4.00.

There are versatile men who attain equal distinction in many walks of life, and whose astounding performances testify to the unplumbed wealth in personality. When Cardinal Mercier was appointed in 1906 head of a diocese with a population of two and half million, many thought that it was unfortunate for an eminent professor of philosophy to be transferred to the laborious duties of administration. But the choice was well made. The philosopher was not lost in the ecclesiastic, the scholar in the executive, nor the saint and seer in the statesman. This fact received

extraordinary demonstration during the war. The life of the Cardinal was frequently in danger, and on several occasions the German commanders resolved on arresting him, but their decisions were never put into effect. The nerve-racking task to which he gave himself with superb ability and unflinching determination is well known. This volume is a record of the way he conducted his mission on behalf of his devastated country of Belgium. "Here are my war experiences in their most tense and vivid reality; all the issues I fought with the occupying power, their methods and mine clearly defined, undeniably fixed in black and white." In a world of diplomacy and statecraft his voice was consistently heard expounding and enforcing the eternal principles of righteousness and truth. We cannot read the pastorals and the innumerable letters and interviews without seeing a struggle going on for four years between moral power and military force, between character and coercion, between independence and intimidation. The ultimate triumph was acknowledged when the German authorities handed a declaration to the Cardinal, in which occur these words: "You are in our estimation the incarnation of occupied Belgium, of which you are the venerated and trusted pastor." The final outcome is all the more memorable because throughout the controversy he stood out almost alone, making his insistent appeal solely to conscience and to the sense of right, beyond which there could be no arbiter.

When he spoke with the enemies in the gate he was decided and courteous. He never hesitated to point out the flagrant acts of violence, injustice and misrule of the Germans, for which there was no excuse even in the emergency of the war. The spirit of firmness was shown by him from the very outset. When objections were raised to his celebrated Christmas Pastoral of 1914, and he was urged to modify its sentiments, he replied, "It is written and it will remain." Another pastoral which created a sensation and no little indignation in the camp of the enemy was, "On my Return from Rome." Equally emphatic was his address at the Church of St. Gudule and the pastorals on "The Voice of God" and "Courage, Brethren." Although these declarations were regarded by the Germans as "political manifestos," they were not able to substantiate their accusations with facts. In one reply to these railing charges the Cardinal wrote: "Deep in my breast I confidently look for the success of our cause. This confidence is based on motives of the natural order, which in my pastoral I refrained from developing precisely to avoid the semblance of meddling with the calculations of politicians or the plans of headquarters. It is based besides on supernatural motives of which my conscience is the sole judge. I cherish this confidence. It sustains my courage, and because I love my faithful flock I desire to impart it unto them." His letter to Baron von der Lancken on the rights of the occupying power goes into questions with logical acumen, ethical clearness, and spiritual insight. "New circumstances give rise to new duties. The preacher of God's word would fail in his task if he did not understand that, in the tragic time in which we are, consciences cry out for light." He was criticised for

overstepping his episcopal role because he dealt with political and social issues, but his critics failed to understand that the pulpit must deal with all the issues of life, and when they declare that it is not preaching the simple gospel, they expose their inability to appreciate the implications and applications of the gospel message.

Cardinal Mercier was a veritable thorn in the flesh of the enemy, and in spite of their attempts at rebuttal, his animadversions generally had the right of way. In these pages we have his frequent protests against the assaults by soldiers, the harsh measures meted out to the clergy, the vexatious interferences with education, the deportation of the unemployed, the requisition of copper, the restriction of coal, the religious neglect of Belgian prisoners in internment camps—every subject concerning the welfare of his nation received earnest and prompt attention. Fearless in exposure, direct in criticism, pointed in appeal, moved by lofty ideals and maintaining an equitable balance between the urgencies of patriotism and the insistencies of right, the enemy was not able to withstand the wisdom and the spirit with which he spoke. If the leaders of the church had raised their voice with the courageous zeal shown by this servant of Christ, the course of things during the miserable years of the war might have been different. Some of the bright spots in the annals of church history are associated with the defiance shown to Attila by Leo the Great, to Theodosius by Ambrose, to Valens by Basil. In this succession of valiant defenders of the right we place the Archbishop of Malines, who incarnated the spirit of Elijah, Amos, and John the Baptist, and proved himself on every occasion a worthy minister of Jesus Christ. Belgium was occupied but never conquered, and this was due in no small measure to the inspiring leadership of Cardinal Mercier. His conflict and triumph described in this volume make it a distinctive contribution toward a clearer understanding of the functions of the Christian ministry.

The Letters of Charles Sorley. With a Chapter of Biography. 8vo, pp. xiii, 320. Cambridge University Press. Imported by the Macmillan Company. Price, $5.00 net.

Letters of Donald Hankey. With Introduction and Notes. By Edward Miller, M. A. 12mo, pp. 356. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, $2.50 net.

Apart from their intrinsic excellence these letters are valuable as memorials of two brilliant minds cut off in the heyday of life by the merciless scythe of war. They reveal an intense interest in the whole gamut of life, so characteristic of well-bred youth. There was a vital difference in these two young men. Hankey, who fell in action on the Somme at the age of thirty-two years, showed a deep sympathetic understanding of all sorts of men and was serenely confident. Sorley was only twenty years old when he was shot by a sniper as he led his company in the battle of Loos. His exhilarating disposition was shown in ardent enthusiasms for literature and humanity, and one cannot help falling in love with this buoyant boy and making allowance for his youthful ex-

travagances and exaggerations. Frank in character and independent in spirit, his life was a burning positive thing of his own and he was always eager for the noblest and best. The social passion quickened him so deeply that he seriously thought of leaving Marlborough and working in a London slum. His purpose of studying the classics, which he disliked, was to qualify him for Oxford and receive training to become a teacher in a workingman's college. One who knew him intimately testified that "in the service of an ideal it never occurred to him to count the cost." His father, Professor W. R. Sorley, of Cambridge University, said of him that "he looked on the world with clear eyes and the surface show did not deceive him." Those who are familiar with his Marlborough and Other Poems realize the large promise of achievement, so suddenly cut short, and yet we are thankful for this slim volume which contains some of the best poetry of the war. "All the Hills and Vales Along" is the call of a crusader:

> On, marching men, on
> To the gates of death with song.
> Sow your gladness for earth's reaping,
> So you may be glad, though sleeping.
> Strew your gladness on earth's bed,
> So be merry, so be dead.

His letters are apt to be misunderstood unless they are read in sympathy with the writer's mind. They were addressed to his parents and to a large circle of friends during his school days, while studying in Schwerin and at the University of Jena, and in the stirring days of army training and at the front. A letter to Mrs. Bethune-Baker, on the second anniversary of the death of her son Arthur, reveals the depth of Sorley's soul, in this testimony to a classmate at Marlborough: "I see now much more clearly that, especially in his last term, he ran the race (as very few of us did) consistently like a gentleman and a Christian. He had disappointments in the football line, but yet he always seemed just as pleased with the success of those who had outplaced him. And I never remember him trying to help himself on by depreciation of his weaker contemporaries." His admiration for Masefield was unbounded, and the essay on this poet, written when he was only seventeen years old, is a marvel of literary criticism. It also shows an unusual sympathy with the stirring of the masses, whose day, he contended, was being heralded by Masefield. "The love that is a demand of the noble expression of noble thoughts, the discovery of the path of approach to God by the road of great men's great words, which was born in the few so many years ago amid joy and gladness and ringing of bells, is now being born in the many, the masses, with tears and sweat and dire unrest—the earnest of a fuller and more profitable life. Surely the body of the people is in the birth throes; and that which is being born is the knowledge of the beauty and strength of word and thought; and this is the spirit of this restless age." Nearly eight months of study in Germany enabled him to see much to admire and love in that "land of unselfconscious people," but he also learned to understand their weaknesses in which he saw a truly comic side. The situation was

altered after the war, but what he wrote has neither animus nor prejudice. "Germany's only fault is a lack of real insight and sympathy with those who differ from her. We are not fighting a bully but a bigot. They are a young nation and don't yet see that what they consider is being done for the good of the world may be really being done for self-gratification."

The letters of Hankey are of a different character. They show a mellowness which one is led to expect from the author of A Student in Arms, described at the time of its publication as "the most religious book yet written about the war." Hankey was keenly sensitive to moral and spiritual values. It was his desire to obtain firsthand information that induced him to go to Australia as a steerage passenger and to work in the Australian Bush as a farm hand. His letters introduce us to one who viewed life from many angles and in divers situations, and who recognized that all life is fundamentally religious. It is this fact which has placed A Student in Arms among the classics of war literature and made his volume The Lord of All Good Life so helpful to all who need a clearly thought-out interpretation of the life of Jesus and the work of the church. About the origin of this book he wrote to a friend: "I am glad you like the book on the whole; and I wouldn't value absolute agreement so much as your qualified agreement. But I would like you to realize that it was written spontaneously, in a burst, in six weeks, without any consultation of authorities or any revision to speak of. I had tried and tried, but without success. Then suddenly everything cleared up. To myself the writing of it was an illumination. I did not write it laboriously, and with calculation, or because I wanted to write a book and be an author. I wrote it because for me problems that had been troublesome suddenly cleared up, and because writing down the result was to me the natural way of getting everything straight in my own mind." The same spirit of chivalry, honesty, and fairness which gives his books a fragrant aroma, is also seen in these exquisite letters. Here is an outspoken sentiment: "I am sure that most of us—nearly all of us—don't *want* true religion. It would be too exacting. We are such weirdly constituted creatures. We will spend our lives striving after worldly honors, but we will not pray for ten minutes consecutively that we may have the knowledge of God, which is eternal life." He gives timely counsel in the words: "If you want to be able to 'give a reason for the faith that is in you,' my advice is, 'Study the need of religion, and the effects of religion, and above all the mind of Christ; but do not try to argue with people on their own ground.' Unless one is extraordinarily clever, one cannot hope to do anything in argument, for argument hardly ever convinces." He believed strongly in the church because it was "a means of gathering up, absorbing and coordinating and perpetuating various individual contributions. If one is outside the church one's individual ideals and points of view only affect just a few other individuals. But the more active a member of the church one is, the more those ideals are taken up into history. The individual can only achieve a very onesided representation of the fullness of Christ, and if his little bit is to become catholic and universal, it must be coordinated to other people's little bits.

so that all the members of the church combining and supplementing each other may build up a full and manysided 'body of Christ.'" It is impossible to estimate the real worth of these two volumes of letters from an occasional quotation. They should be read through with reference to their context and cannot fail to appeal to a large circle of readers because of their breezy qualities.

A Service of Love in War Time. American Friends Relief Work in Europe, 1917-1919. By RUFUS M. JONES. 8vo, pp. xv. 284. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $2.50.

The Story of George Fox. By RUFUS M. JONES. 12mo, pp. xii, 169. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $1.50.

THE Quakers have always been ridiculed and these followers of the Inner Light have suffered fearful privations at the hands of other Christians. George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, was a prophetic pioneer in witnessing to the sanctity of the individual conscience illuminated by the Divine Spirit. Professor Jones has written a readable biography of this uncompromising leader whose convictions led him to prison and exposed him to many discomforts. While the volume is intended for young people, there is much in it for all readers, who will be introduced to one of the impressive characters of Christian history. It is greatly significant that this witness to a way of life out of the beaten track, involving considerable difficulties, has continued to our own day. Those who have conscientiously accepted it did not count their life as dear unto themselves, as compared with the joy of attesting to their sober and settled faith.

The Friends are not cowardly pacifists in their attitude toward war. They realized that the world tragedy was common to every one and that they could not evade their responsibility in the crisis. They were convinced that the alternative to war was the constructive power of good will. The problem was how to give adequate expression to it and yet show their intense patriotism. The way it was done is related by Professor Jones, than whom there is no better representative and exponent of the Christian idealism of the Friends. This volume is unlike most war books, for while we hear the cry of distress sounding through its pages there is also heard the choral strain telling of relief experienced by the desolate peoples in the devastated regions. It is furthermore an intensely religious book. The movement of relief was conceived and conducted by the Friends in France and other lands in a spirit of religious consecration. They sought no compensation; they were not disturbed by a lack of recognition from those in authority; they were not surprised that their program was regarded with bitter hostility. But what they accomplished won for them the deepest gratitude of the French people of all classes, and also of those in Russia, Siberia, and other lands where their service of love had the rich fragrance of the spirit of Jesus Christ. The spirit permeating this gracious enterprise, whose symbol was the eight-pointed star, is revealed in many reports of the workers, from one of

which we quote a sentence: "Our men in France are not only using their hands in building houses, repairing machinery, tilling fields, and threshing grain, but they are using their big hearts in bringing new hope and joy into the lives of the people among whom they are working." A representative of the English Friends, already at work in these dark areas, welcomed the American Friends in an impressive address. Among other things he said: "We hope that you may see, as we have seen, that it matters little what our particular work may be, so long as we help forward the cause of international good fellowship, and the ideal of constructive service which we all have at heart. . . . We hope and believe that you will share with us the love we feel for the peasants of France. Their civilization and their view of life is very different from ours, still more different perhaps from yours. It is a civilization which has great respect for symbols, which is full of small reverences and what may appear almost foolish sensibilities. But these reverences and sensibilities, when understood, are the keys that open to us the innate gladness and good fellowship of the French people."

The difficulties encountered by the American Friends in the early days of organizing their unit, the problems of the military draft, the funds raised for this work, the devotion of a large corps of workers at home and on the front are vividly described. The sufferings which some of the young men of draft age endured are well nigh incredible. One difficulty which confronted the War Department was that the officials did not comprehend the meaning of conscience; but another still more grave was the danger of multiplying sham conscientious objectors who would seek to escape from military service. It is, however, humiliating to read of the treatment meted out to some of the genuine Friends in the camps. It only proves that in times of excitement we are easily swayed by prejudices that do incalculable harm. When we are celebrating the Tercentenary of the Pilgrims let us be warned against the spirit of intolerance and bigotry, still rife in our midst, in spite of our vaunted professions of freedom and liberty. The chapter on "The Keepers of the Faith" is an *apologia pro vita fidei*, and should be widely read. The whole volume is a timely emphasis on the value of "the elemental faith of the human heart—faith in love, in truth, in fellowship, in cooperation, and in the spirit of forgiveness and sacrifice." It deserves the careful study of all who are interested in the problems of reconstruction in a world of bankruptcy.

Pantheistic Dilemmas, and other Essays in Philosophy and Religion. By Henry C. Sheldon, Professor in Boston University. New York: The Methodist Book Concern.

A large debt is due to Professor Sheldon for his recent studies of strange cults, such as Theosophy, Christian Science, Mormonism, Adventism, etc. And he has greatly added to our intellectual obligation to him in this volume of Essays, dealing with Pantheism, Pragmatism, Bergson's Philosophy of Change, Mysticism and Bahaism, besides a fine

evaluation of the doctrinal side of the Protestant Reformation, and an interesting study of John Henry Newman.

To adequately review a book covering so many themes and so wide a range of thought is a difficult task. In general, it can be said that the author fulfills, in every instance, his expressed purpose of exposition, criticism, and valuation. His expositions are lucid and highly informing. For example, there could hardly be given in so brief a space a more illuminating outline of Bergson's Philosophy than Professor Sheldon has put into some twenty pages. It is a veritable triumph of teaching genius so to condense an epoch-making system of thought, with no loss of clarity. This is also in large measure true of the expositions of the Pantheism of Spinoza and the Pragmatism of William James.

The critical aspects of these essays are, on the whole, fair and convincing, especially as to the religious shortcomings of the writers and systems discussed. Disciples of Bergson and James may possibly object that adverse criticisms of their anti-intellectualistic philosophies, on the ground of seeming confusion and vagueness of thought, do not sufficiently consider that intellectualism seems simple because all static notions of reality leave out the very values which are vital to reality itself. Time and relativity are not easy to think; they are like a fourth dimension in geometry—they enlarge conception even when they do not clarify it. A cross-section of life, at any particular moment, is easier to study than life in its continuity, but it misses the meaning of life itself.

It is, however, in the valuations that our author reveals the sympathetic catholicity of his thinking. His appreciation of the contributions made by the modern thinkers to philosophic thought is full and finely stated. Here is a thoroughly orthodox thinker, who at the same time is wholly modern in his mental methods and point of view. It is a noble illustration of the power of Christian truth to assimilate every new advance of thought and to fill with its force of life every new form of human welfare.

Essay VI, on Doctrinal Values contributed by the Reformation, is more than a study of the doctrines of the Reformers, it is a worth-while treatise on the practical value of doctrine itself to the religious life. Here is the heart of the whole matter:

"Who will make bold to deny that the transforming efficiency of the message of Jesus was largely due to the superlative doctrines which it contained? That message was shot through with great theological conceptions, conceptions not dictated by simple ethics, but adapted to serve as a vital breath to ethical conviction, and to work potently for the creation of the sweetest charities that can ameliorate the lot or glorify the lives of men. It was practically mighty because it was theoretically sound, balanced, and deep-reaching, true to the nature of God and the wants of men. In it we have an imperishable lesson on the function of doctrine, not as being antithetic to life, or indifferently related thereto, but as efficiently ministering to life." (Page 150.)

The essay on John Henry Newman as Roman Catholic Apologist furnishes complete demonstration of the tragic character of Newman's

conversion to Romanism. It did not bring him either mental or moral peace. The "kindly light" which he followed as a guide to religious certainty did not deliver him from "the encircling gloom." He built a dome in air of a theoretically progressive and infallible Church; the Papacy accepted the convert, but not the philosophy that converted him. He submitted to ecclesiastical authority on grounds which the authority itself rejected. His defense of the Roman Church was based on principles of thought which the church itself repudiated. Professor Sheldon gives an admirable analysis of Newman's Development of Christian Doctrine and also his Grammar of Assent. The Modernist Movement, anathematized by Pope Pius X, finds much of its intellectual groundwork in these books. It is Protestants, and not Romanists, who will in all the future give fullest appreciation to Newman, "on the score of his literary gift, his poetic sensibility, and his deep and constant religious aspirations."

The concluding essay, on "Bahaism," is the longest in the book, but not the least important in view of the fact that this specious bit of religious syncretism seems to be growing in favor in America among religious faddists. At present there is a proposition to build a Bahaist Cathedral in Chicago of pretentious architecture and at vast expense. Our author gives exhaustive historical and critical consideration to this attempt to amalgamate all religions into one. The defect in its historic credentials, the literary cheapness of its sacred documents, the low levels of its moral code, and the lack of intellectual integrity in many of its adherents—all these and more shortcomings are sufficient to invalidate the stupendous and ambitious claims of its founders and adherents.

No saner or clearer expositor of the trend of current philosophic and religious thought than Professor Sheldon can be found, and nowhere has this been more wholesomely manifest than in this volume of essays.

The Orient in Bible Times. By ELIHU GRANT. 8vo, pp. 336. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. Price, $2.50.

History of the Hebrew Commonwealth. By ALBERT EDWARD BAILEY and CHARLES FOSTER KENT. With Maps and Illustrations. 12mo, pp. xxiv, 396. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $2.

National Ideals in the Old Testament. By HENRY J. CADBURY. 12mo, pp. xii, 269. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $1.75.

THE perennial freshness of the Old Testament message continues to be evidenced by scholarly contributions. Archæologists have made possible the study of the history of contemporary nations. Many allusions in the Bible which for want of the necessary data were of doubtful meaning are now made clear. The new light has also given a more adequate understanding of the prophets, who did not speak in riddles concerning coming crises. As men of spiritual genius who saw beneath the currents of public and private life they interpreted the character and demands of God to

their generation *sub specie eternitatis*. The chief value of the modern methods of Bible study is in a more comprehensive conception of the function of religion, making the Bible in a richer and deeper way the Book of religion, without an equal among the Sacred Books of the Ethnic Faiths.

These three volumes contain the best results of recent research, and are distinct contributions to a clearer knowledge of the Old Testament. Professor Grant gives the background for Bible history in an attractive and readable way. His story of the ancient nations furnishes a historical perspective which sets events in their true proportions and in their relation to the whole of human experience. We must reckon with the influences of geography, climate, soil, travel in understanding the life of a people, and also take note of the political, social, and industrial institutions which developed or retarded the religious and moral growth of a nation. It should be remembered that the Orient has practically remained unchanged during six millenniums, but this world has been of ever expanding interest, and those who have felt its lure continue to hear the East a-calling. In a series of graphic chapters Professor Grant traces the rise, progress, and decline of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and the Mediterranean nations. Palestine occupied a strategic position in relation to them all, and was peculiarly sensitive to the world currents of thought and action. This small country has been the meeting place of East and West during successive centuries and within its limited territory many nations have lived as neighbors, oftener in hostile than in amicable ways. The impact of these influences on the life of the Hebrews was definite from early times to the trying days of the Maccabees. We disagree with the author's speculation in discounting the Exile and the Return on the large scale given these events in the Biblical narrative. The outline as we have it in the Bible, when filled in with material furnished by "profane" history, gives a far more attractive picture and leaves less to explain of contradiction than the unhistorical portrayal made by radical scholarship. The chapter on "Old and New Palestine, Features and Customs," helps to a more vivid meaning of Biblical passages. It is unfortunate that the chapter titles are omitted in the text and given only in the table of contents.

The History of the Hebrew Commonwealth by Bailey and Kent goes over familiar ground, with this difference that it sketches impressively the long struggle of this nation on behalf of their religious and social ideals. The closing chapter on "The Long, Long Exile" tells of the persecution and desolation which befell the Hebrews in dispersion among the nations of Europe during the Christian centuries. In this entire period they cherished the hope of a return to the Holy Land. The Zionist hopes have been variously interpreted. Their realization yet remains to be fulfilled, but the next few years will show whether the expectations of enthusiasts are justifiable or whether a deeper reading of history does not require an adaptation to modern conditions rather than a return to a state of things which spells retrogression instead of progress. This is one of the best equipped text books yet produced, to be welcomed by colleges,

secondary schools, and Sunday schools. There are one hundred and sixty-two illustrations clearly printed and each one is accompanied by descriptive paragraphs. The frontispiece is a map of modern Palestine; there are also twenty-eight other maps. The appendix contains suggestions to teachers, suggestions for detailed work, and a map index of important geographic names.

A sequel to these two volumes is one by Professor Cadbury, who interprets with insight the successive ideals of the Old Testament in the course of Hebrew history. He rightly holds that "spiritual forces and ideals are the real determinants of human life and progress," and that they make for "the creation of a new public conscience, of a spirit of brotherhood, and of all the higher qualities of personal and social life." By a careful exposition of the teachings of reformers, prophets, patriots, and statesmen he shows that the program they endeavored to carry out has a fitting application to our modern conditions. The spirit of loyalty is illustrated from the teachings of Hosea; the relation of prophecy to politics and the limitations of statecraft from Isaiah; the truths of patriotism from Jeremiah; the principles of reformation and reconstruction from Deuteronomy; the ideals of international service from the Servant passages; the limitations of nationalism from Jonah. In spite of adversity the Israel of the Old Testament was strengthened by a perennial hope based on faith in the real sovereignty of God and in their own immortal destiny. Their loyalties were frequently narrow, but they nevertheless made contributions to higher forms of allegiance. We wish Professor Cadbury had more fully worked out this phase of his subject, although it would have taken him outside the limits of the Old Testament into the more exhilarating atmosphere of the New Testament. Such a study is greatly needed to point out "the baser limitations of modern provincial chauvinism, national jealousy, and political immorality," and to indicate the higher ground to be attained by Christian statecraft and world order, without which we are doomed to wearisome delusions and heartbreaking disappointments.

A READING COURSE

The Religious Consciousness. A Psychological Study. By JAMES BISSETT PRATT, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $4.

MOST volumes on the psychology of religion consider only the data obtained from Protestant Christianity and neglect the vast field opened by Comparative Religion. The testimony of Roman Catholicism is also practically discarded. The investigator furthermore often becomes the critic who presses his point of view in ways that do violence to the acknowledged conception of religion. This term embraces a wide variety of phenomena and no single definition can do it justice. Just as the heart makes the theologian, so also must it be with the psychologist of religion. No one can pass in review the marvelous exhibitions of the religious

life in the spirit of the scientist who coldly examines his material. The attitude must be one of sympathy born out of the conviction of the intrinsic worth of religion experienced in the life of the investigator himself. When he also approaches the subject with a mind furnished by the results of personal observation and study of the workings of religion over a wide field of life and literature, his conclusions merit recognition because they are apt to be free from provincialism and pharisaism.

These qualifications are well met by Professor Pratt. His understanding of the non-Christian religions is seen in his volume, India and its Faiths: A Traveler's Record, a profoundly sympathetic study of a land and people inveterately religious by nature and tradition. Another volume on The Psychology of Religious Belief was dedicated "To my mother, from whose lessons and whose life I have drawn all the real religion that I know or need." Here he shows that a stream of religious intuitions and demands has steadily flown beneath the hidden recesses of the conscious life, making its appearance as the religion of primitive credulity, of thought, and of feeling. The subject is more fully developed in his latest volume. His definition of religion is elastic: "Religion is the serious and social attitude of individuals or communities toward the power or powers which they conceive as having ultimate control over their interests and destinies" (p. 2). His classification of religion into four types instead of three, as in the previous volume, is in better accord with the pervasive influence of religious belief. They are (1) the traditional, which rests on the authority of the past; (2) the rational, based on reason and verified facts; (3) the mystical, relying on personal inner experience of a peculiarly subjective kind; (4) the volitional or practical, stressing what must be done rather than what must be believed or felt (p. 14ff). But none of these types is exclusive, for each needs the others, and the cultivation of all four, with varying accents according to temperament, should be practiced for complete religious expression. Illustrate this from the types of religious experience in the New Testament. Note the three ways in which religion has been studied and relate the philosophy of religion to the history of religion and the psychology of religion. The task of the third is, "to describe the workings of the human mind so far as these are influenced by its attitude toward the Determiner of Destiny" (p. 31).

The fact of the Supernatural must be determined not by theory but experience, and where there are so many gaps to be filled in, the spirit of dogmatic denial is as irrational as that of dogmatic affirmation. The attractive theory of the subconscious is examined in search of any gaps to bridge the open spaces in religious experience. The evidence from this source is found to be insufficient. There is much truth in the idea of the subconscious as pointing to the latent possibilities of personality, enriched as it is by racial inheritance and individual history. But those who claim it to be a superhuman source of revelation have yet to substantiate their position. The discussion of this subject is quite full and suggestive. Heredity and social experience are the two great molding influences of character. Note the distinction made between religious

instinct and the instinctive basis of religion (p. 69ff). To what extent should Pratt's conclusions be qualified? If society exercises so deep an influence, what place should be given to the great religious leaders? The prophets and reformers of every nation have generally been opposed because it was not clearly understood that they were rebuking not the conservatisms but the corruptions of religion. What is written about the compelling power of tradition should be pondered by progressives, who so often fail in their mission because of an inadequate knowledge of the psychology of the religious mind, which is wedded to customs and beliefs that are the very warp and woof of its constitution.

There are several pertinent observations in the chapters on "The Religion of Childhood" and "Adolescence." The need for a better program of religious education is being increasingly felt in Protestantism. The problem relates itself to trained teachers, the religious home, the worshiping church, the teaching pulpit, so that the solution finally rests with pastors. "If we take into account the instruction which the child receives in theological matters from parents, servants, playmates, teachers, preachers, books, and pictures, and add to that his inevitable misunderstanding of much that is taught him, and his own imaginative contribution produced in the process of mental digestion, we shall understand the strange mixture of commonplace ideas and fantastic imagery which characterizes the child's theology" (p. 97). Here is one explanation of the dilemmas of adolescence, between twelve and twenty-five. To what extent have the dogmatic prepossessions of Protestantism interrupted the development of the Christian soul? The new birth in conversion involves the whole life and makes for a unified being. There are two types of conversion, intellectual and emotional, and one should not disparage the other. The illustrations of these two types throw light on the complex nature of personality. The conversion or counter-conversion of Robert Ardigo was the result of an all-dominating love of truth. It was a species of illumination in which he found freedom, in much the same way as it was found by such earnest religious pagans as Seneca, Apollonius, and Gautama. This type is further illustrated from the lives of two Hindu mystics—Ramakrishna and Maharashi Devendranath Tagore—both of whom found peace by deliverance from the lower self and in a constant realization of the presence of God everywhere. In the case of Tolstoy conversion was an awakening to and an acceptance of a new center of loyalty. All four experienced a radical change after active search. The emotional type of conversion, with which evangelical thought is more familiar, is illustrated from Bunyan and Brainerd. Here a deep sense of sin is conspicuous. Is its absence in the intellectual type due to a lack of conviction or was it due to the conception of sin as imperfection? If we standardize conversion there is the danger of creating an artificial form of morbid experience. Since there are twelve gates into the city of peace, why should it be necessary that all should enter only through one gate, which happens to be the one that welcomed us? "The most important thing about conversion is of course change of character" (p. 163). While there can be no Christian conversion without Christ at the center,

the processes may be different. The journey toward the life of pardon and joy is pursued by some with exhibitions of violence, while others travel by quiet and almost imperceptible stages of progress. If the reality is proven in ethical acts of spiritual power, the variety of form testifies more impressively to the versatility of the Deliverer than would any uniformity of method or manner. The argument is carried further in the chapter on "Crowd Psychology and Revivals." A better understanding of the laws which govern these periodical visitations will help us to conserve the maximum of what is good in them, for without a doubt the revival has a definite place in the progress of religion.

The two great dogmas of religion are the belief in a God and the belief in immortality. Two chapters are devoted to these themes. Those who identify the idea of God with the attitude toward Him think of God as synonymous with our conception of human values. At one stroke they would thus fell the trees of religion with its luscious fruit of worship and prayer and the devotion of pious service and sacrifice. Note how this subtle fallacy is exposed. The section on unbelief in immortality and indifference toward it should also be studied. The place of ritual and the necessity and benefits of worship are fully discussed in four chapters on "The Cult and its Causes," "How the Cult Performs its Functions," "Objective and Subjective Worship," "Prayer and Private Worship." The subjects are of timely interest to preachers who desire to make more effective and profitable the divers appeals of sanctuary service. Note some of the reasons assigned for the failure of much Protestant worship to satisfy the religious feelings (p. 295ff). The over emphasis on the sermon is not to be met by under emphasis but by a sense of proportion which shall give us not less preaching but better, not more ritual but a more flexible and diversified ritual, in an atmosphere to encourage prayer, to incite praise, to quicken meditation and to produce activity. The importance of mysticism is recognized by four chapters. What gives such value to these discussions is the extensive use of the mystical literature of Roman Catholicism. "Mysticism is the sense of the presence of a being or reality through other means than the ordinary perceptive processes or the reason. It is the *sense* or *feeling* of this presence, not the belief in it, and it is not the result of sight or hearing or touch, nor is it a conclusion one reaches by thought; it is, instead, an immediate and intuitive experience" (p. 337). The milder form of mysticism, as found in normal persons, has done much to deepen the spiritual life of the church. It should be practiced on a larger scale for the sake of its vitality, energy, and joyousness. The extreme form of mysticism is not necessarily pathological, and although most of its representatives are found in Roman Catholicism, an infusion of it into Protestantism will yield an enrichment of worship. "The Ecstasy" is a manner of feeling God and of being united with him. Even though some of its exhibitions have been extravagant, is not the practice of the presence of God an urgent necessity of the modern church? Those who think of the mystic as a passive individual fail to do justice to some of the better representatives of this way of faith. The concluding chapter, on "The Place and Value of

Mysticism," gathers up the results of an important investigation. The plea for more religious emotion is both sound and timely. We are suffering not from an excess but from an insufficiency of it, due to the little attention given to the demands of the inner life of the soul. The emphasis on activity, social morality, and efficiency will inevitably fail unless it is supported by "the glow of feeling, the sense of the Infinite, the intuition of the Beyond, the aspiration of the more than earthy" (p. 479). Our restless age must give itself to contemplation, never an easy task and more difficult at the present time. To this end the note of mysticism should be sounded with conviction by the pulpit. As an aid in this direction the present volume is of decided helpfulness.

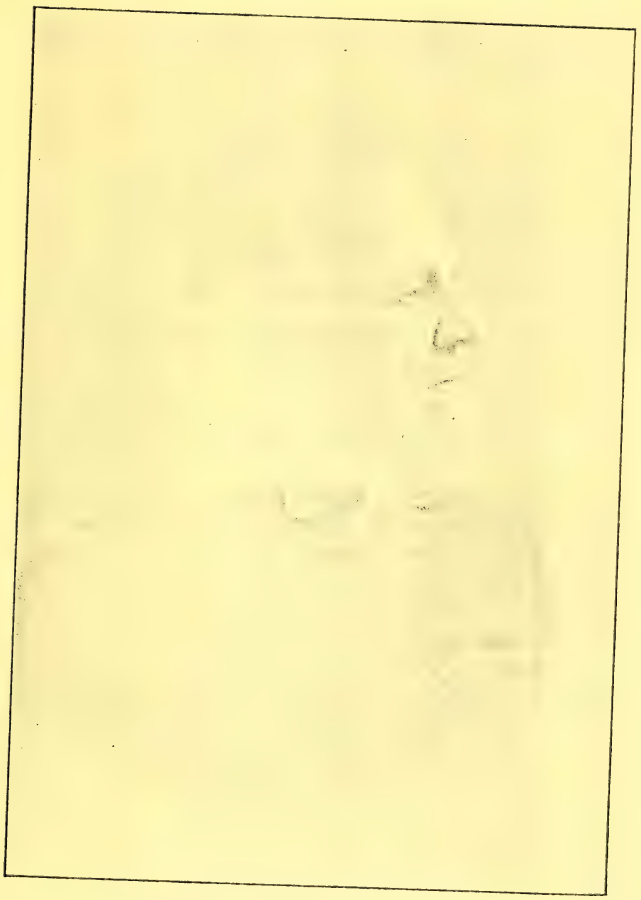
Side Reading

Religions and Religion. By James Hope Moulton (Methodist Book Concern, $1.25). The light thrown by comparative religion on Christianity and the ethnic faiths is discerningly exhibited.

Essentials of Evangelism. By Oscar L. Joseph (Doran, $1.25). A clear presentation of the factors to be reckoned with for the real advance of the church.

Studies in Mystical Religion. By Rufus M. Jones (Macmillan, $4). A complete historical discussion of the service of Christian mysticism in deepening the spiritual life.

For information about books on subjects of interest to preachers, address this department, *Reading Course*, care of the *Methodist Review*, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.



John H. Vincent.

METHODIST REVIEW

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JOHN HEYL VINCENT: A SKETCH

THIS brief paper may be likened to one of those off-hand portraits that we occasionally come across, resembling possibly, but inadequate. In this case the portrait was made from memory by a rather unskillful draughtsman who, at every stroke of the pencil, regrets that he did not take the trouble, when he might have done so, to fill his sketch-book with notes and outlines against the possibility of their being one day needed. Such notes and outlines do not exist; neither, for that matter, does the sketch-book itself.

If, therefore, the colors are pale, and there is a lack of precision and definiteness in the drawing, these faults are as evident to the draughtsman as they can be to anyone else. What is wanted for even so simple a task as the one in hand is a record of the strong, vivid, immediate impressions which a man of force and character always makes upon those who come in contact with him. Names and dates, the sort of thing that any book of reference will supply, are of little help; whereas pithy sayings, anecdotes, extracts from letters and speeches, together with some account of the man's human side (his likes and dislikes, his preferences and his prejudices), are of immense value.

But we who write a few essays now and then do not foresee what we may be called on to write. We are caught unawares, and on overhauling our stock of knowledge are astonished and chagrined to find how meager it is. The very paucity of our stores drives us to make use of what we are inclined paradoxically to condemn—mere names and dates, the common stuff of which plain biographical dictionaries are made.

In the paragraphs that immediately follow will be found some of the principal facts of Doctor Vincent's life. All mention of his coadjutors is purposely excluded. These associates of his were very dear to him, he placed a high estimate on their talents and services; but there is no room in a condensed personal study like this to take up the question of what and how much they did to make his work both possible and successful.

John Heyl Vincent was born at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on February 23, 1832; he was the fifth of the nine children of John Himrod and Mary Raser Vincent. The family came from Central Pennsylvania (near Northumberland), and returned thither when their comparatively brief stay in the South ended. The Vincents were of Huguenot stock, descendants, it is believed, of one Levi Vincent, who emigrated from France to New Rochelle, New York, at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Young John Vincent attended school at Lewisburg and at Milton, Pennsylvania. At the age of eighteen he began to preach. After still further study, at the Wesleyan Institute at Newark, he joined the New Jersey Conference, was ordained deacon in 1855, and elder in 1857. Transferred to the Rock River Conference, Illinois, he served churches at Galena, Joliet, Rockford, and in Chicago. He had married, on November 10, 1858, Miss Elizabeth Dusenbury of Portville, New York.

His success in conducting one or two periodicals devoted to Sunday school interests led to his being made Secretary of the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Church, and editor of its publications; this post he held from 1868 to 1884. The Chautauqua Assembly was founded in 1874, the home-reading course of study (known as the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle) in 1878.

At the General Conference of 1888 Doctor Vincent—for it is convenient to use the title by which he was known for so many years—was elected a Bishop. Two years later it fell to him to superintend the interests of the Methodist Church in Europe; during this period his residence was at Zurich. He returned to America in 1894, and presently gave up regular episcopal work. But a release from stipulated tasks meant in his case no diminu-

tion of activity. He was fertile in plans of one sort or another, and untiring in the search for means to make them effective.

Among the academical honors that came to him the degree of S.T.D., conferred by Harvard, is perhaps the most noteworthy. He was preacher (in residence) to that university for one or more terms.

Turning now from these dry details, any one of which might be amplified and given color and point, the writer will now set down, in no particular order, his personal impressions of the man. He is forced, for the moment, to become frankly, if not shamelessly, autobiographic, having in mind to relate an incident that is neither important nor striking, yet of value in the way it brings out a conspicuous trait.

I first saw John H. Vincent in 1867 at the home of my grandparents near Oswego; he was then thirty-five years of age. If he looked venerable to me it was because to a small boy any grown-up person seems old. As a matter of fact he must have been decidedly youthful of appearance in spite of a full beard and incipient baldness. Contemporary photographs show this to be true.

Summoned in haste from my play to be presented to him, I naturally felt the importance of the occasion. Although well equipped with uncles on the maternal side, I had never, up to that day, seen either of my father's two brothers. And now one of them had arrived. The introduction being over, I immediately procured a pencil and a sheet of paper, and sat down in his presence to write my father an account of the great event. The new uncle viewed the operation with a humorous eye, and, it is to be hoped, remembered that reading and writing (of some sort) come by nature.

He was so flattering as to ask permission to see what I had written, and notwithstanding the laughter of the family I promptly assented. He should have been pleased with the proofs the letter gave of my holding original views on the subject of orthography. I was not, even at that tender age, what would be called a "simplied" speller—redundant would be the better adjective. Nevertheless I had marked prejudices in favor of particular forms,

and still revert to them occasionally. Taking the pencil in hand, my uncle showed me how an E might be converted into an A (and vice versa) without the bother of first rubbing it out. It was an astonishing piece of legerdemain, not difficult to learn and most agreeable to practice; I can do the trick now, exactly as he taught it me.

His visit was brief. The next day I received a mysterious package from him. When opened it disclosed a writing-desk of the most approved fashion, having lids that raised, and small drawers that opened and shut, to say nothing of trays and receptacles for all manner of things, as well as a key that could be lost within twenty-four hours and never found. There were bottles of red and black ink, sticks of colored sealing-wax, penholders with pens in them, and whole boxes of pens besides. The body of the desk was crammed with writing-paper and envelopes of various tints and styles, along with packages of blotters, stamps, a calendar, etc., etc. The gift was handsome at the lowest estimate—to a boy it seemed nothing less than princely.

Trivial as the anecdote is, it will serve to illustrate Doctor Vincent's characteristic generosity. He was one of the most open-handed of men. It was a pleasure to him to give. His benefactions, large and small, were past counting. And the most significant of them were not always those that took the form of books, or money, or a round-trip steamer-ticket to Europe. One must not forget the innumerable letters that he wrote in the course of his busy life, many of them addressed to obscure persons with whom he had been thrown for a day or an hour, and penned with no motive beyond that of giving pleasure.

He never forgot these people—I mean the humble chance acquaintances—though he was utterly unable to remember the favors he had done them and others. I have known him to deny, with a laugh of incredulity, that he had at any time bestowed such and such a gift.

His attitude toward his fellow-workers was of the same large minded sort. He could praise freely, and when he had paid a fine tribute to someone you might be sure that he meant it; nothing was said for effect or from policy. As a man whose word

carried weight he was forever called on to recommend this or that person or project. When in doubt he showed both tactfulness and ingenuity in framing his replies. Generous though he was, it cannot be said that he scattered compliments at random.

Of all his marked characteristics none was more notable than his fidelity to those whom he had honored with his friendship. Having won Doctor Vincent's good-will you might count on it as a permanent possession. If at any time he had made a mistake—say, for example, in the choice of his lieutenants—it was difficult to persuade him of the fact. His tenacity in holding to his opinion—call it obstinacy, if you like—may be explained thus; it was not due to a belief that his own skill in judging men must be infallible, but to a well-founded belief in the powers of the particular man whom he had chosen for a particular piece of work.

Original though he was, forceful, inventive, well acquainted with success, Doctor Vincent was not only modest, but strangely given (at times) to underestimating his own capacity and achievements. He actually seemed to think that he had been hampered in his work by the lack of a formal education. As though it were in the power of any college to give him a fraction of that training that he had given himself! If he was not a man of culture, then our definition of culture needs revising.

The four traits just mentioned are but the beginning of the character-sketch one would like to make. Random strokes, they hardly serve to block in the figure. Plenty is left for the authorized biographer to do; and it may be observed in passing that while the biographer's task will be grateful it cannot be light. The subject is not one that lends itself to the ordinary "scissors-and-paste" mode of compilation.

We must now try to get some idea of this man as he appeared at the place where he was most at home (that place being largely his own creation), and where he unquestionably spent the happiest hours of his life.

The work that Doctor Vincent did in the world was various. Everyone knows how he revolutionized ordinary Sunday school

methods. Few would deny, however, that Chautauqua was his monument, and one that bids fair to last. At no time given to self-congratulation, he had at least an excuse for the indulgence when he reflected what Chautauqua had become and what it had achieved. Those who criticize the institution in a hostile spirit at this late day must admit, if they are honest, that they do so through ignorance or perversity. Over against their sarcasms may be placed the estimates of men who try to see things as they really are. I will give a single example of the latter sort.

Some years ago I was taken by a friend to call on Professor Charles Eliot Norton. In the course of the visit he turned to me and asked whether I might not be related to John H. Vincent. He then said, in his quietly positive way, "I regard the Chautauqua Movement as the most significant and hopeful fact in American life to-day." A year or so later I spent another hour with him at "Shady Hill," his home in Cambridge. Again he mentioned Chautauqua, and repeated the opinion given above in almost the same words; he seemed perfectly to comprehend what the institution stood for—what it aimed to do and what it had actually done. Other tributes might be quoted, from sources quite as high, and all in much the same vein.

If one had a mind to see Doctor Vincent in his element, as we sometimes say, it was necessary to spend a few days at Chautauqua when the season was at its height. If one's visit were timed to include the impressive morning service on a Sunday, or a brilliant platform-meeting like the one called First Night, or the graduation exercise of the C. L. S. C., so much the better. But a great occasion was not needed to bring Doctor Vincent's genius into play; he exerted himself on small occasions as well as great, and always with a nice sense of proportion.

He was a masterly presiding officer. No one who ever had the privilege (and the pleasure) of observing his management of the Chautauqua platform can forget the experience. What he did there might have been done differently, and with equal skill—it were hard to say wherein it might have been better done.

Naturally his main business, as superintendent of instruction, was to present the various speakers to their respective audiences. How important this apparently simple function was from his point of view may be known from the fact that he seldom deputed it, and then only to the most trustworthy of his coadjutors. The task must have been burdensome. There were three sessions daily, each from one and a quarter to two hours in duration. On red-letter days they were longer than that. Doctor Vincent aimed to keep every meeting within reasonable bounds. But orators must have their say and entertainers their fling. It was not his duty to curb a man who was given to the vice of prolixity, or arbitrarily to strike out features that were essential to a given program.

His introductions were models in the *genre*. One exaggerates no more than is permissible when one says that he rarely made a mistake.

He had immense facility in the shaping of happy phrases, unrivaled quickness in seizing on points that would tell—especially such points as showed him conversant with what was uppermost in the public mind—and a wit as keen as it was unfailing. One must regret that no fairly complete record of these introductions exists. A number of the most striking are remembered, and one hears them quoted from time to time. They are not necessarily the best because the most popular.

The present writer has a theory that an introduction bears (or should bear) much the same relation to the discourse that follows it that a title-page bears to a book. It ought, therefore, to be emphatic, accurate, attractive, and brief. Doctor Vincent's introductions possessed all of these virtues and many besides. The speaker had good reason to be thankful who found himself recommended to an audience with so much courtliness, generosity, and good humor. If a sensitive man he was encouraged, if confident and disposed to think well of his own powers he was put on his mettle.

The responsibilities of the platform (in the early days of Chautauqua) were threefold; besides presenting the speakers the superintendent had regularly to make the announcements, and

also to advise the people on various matters touching their daily life in the little summer community.

As a general thing the announcements that precede the event of a given session are dull enough, though often as necessary as they are dull. By some art, of which he almost alone had the secret, Doctor Vincent contrived to give those dry details a charm that somehow was not out of keeping with their practical character. His touch was light, though he might be dealing with matters as dry as a catalogue. A visitor at Chautauqua was once heard to say that he "would as soon hear the Doctor read from his program-book as to listen to a lecture by So-and-So"—mentioning a then popular but now almost forgotten orator.

The miscellaneous talks from the platform of the amphitheater were many and varied. Often of a hortatory character, they included occasional chidings of the audience for misconduct—I mean the sort of misconduct of which a sedate and intelligent audience may be supposed capable.

Now there is a tradition current that in the Golden Age of Chautauqua nobody was ever seen to leave the amphitheater, or for that matter any assembly-hall, in the middle of a lecture; the auditor waited patiently until the speaker had quite finished. No doubt the tradition rests on a substantial basis of some sort. But by the year 1880 the Golden Age had passed; people would slip out on one pretext or another and go their several ways. They were always as self-effacing as possible, and the more conspicuous by reason of their patent efforts not to disturb.

This disposition on the part of individuals to leave when they thought they had had enough was highly annoying to Doctor Vincent. Always willing to sit out the speech or the discussion or the entertainment himself, he could see no reason why others should not do the same. At last that which was sporadic threatened to become more or less universal, and he consequently began good-naturedly to admonish his people. His strictures were cleverly put, being little masterpieces in the way of phrasing, and it was a pleasure to hear them. The audience laughed and applauded, and were truly sorry for the few who had missed one of the best features of the hour by going out.

Chautauqua is not the only place where the solid mass of auditors that greets the speaker at the beginning of his discourse begins to melt a little towards the close. Everybody remembers J. R. Lowell's apprehensions on the occasion of his first course of lectures at the Lowell Institute. He was told that he could not hope to keep his group of listeners intact beyond a certain length of time. I believe that he did not suffer quite to the extent he anticipated. But an American knows when, as an auditor, the point of boredom has been reached; he will leave the lecture-hall when he won't leave either the theater or the church.

Over against the rebellious or tired auditors at Chautauqua who would go when common politeness required them to stay may be set the few difficult ones who ought to have gone long before they did, and left their places vacant for the general public good. This second class was of the feminine gender; needless to say they were always mothers.

Doctor Vincent approved of mothers and maintained a sincerely benevolent attitude towards children. He sympathized with the mothers at Chautauqua in their natural wish to enjoy the privileges of the amphitheater, and he knew that many of them could not come to the public performances unless they brought their offspring with them. They came as a matter of course, and complications resulted.

Babies have been known to lift up their voice in the congregation, as some think, to bewail the fact that they were born, while other pundits assign the reasonable explanation that, having been born, the babies resented being forced at so tender an age to hear lectures. Indeed there seems no good reason for asking a child of three, and under, to listen to the Rev. Joseph Cook on "The Rise of Rationalism in German Universities."

Odd as it may appear, the wailing of a healthy infant is distinctly audible to everybody except its own parents, who at such times wear the look of inane rapture given by the Old Masters to committees of saints stationed at the bottom or on the right and left wings of ecclesiastical paintings.

That an entire audience (to say nothing of the speaker, who, being an immortal soul, has responsibilities and troubles of his

own) should be disturbed by one crying child seemed to Doctor Vincent an intolerable state of affairs. He must and did speak his mind on the subject. His appeals were so urbane, so graciously worded, so very sympathetic as well as correspondingly emphatic, and touched with such a delicate humor that you would have said it must be a joy to follow his suggestion.

But no; there was always a mother who held (seemingly) that every lecture was the better for being provided with an obligato accompaniment of the sort her child was qualified to furnish. Deeply hurt, perhaps angry, and often with tears in her eyes, she would seek out this champion of the greatest good of the greatest number and reproach him for his heartlessness. As the man had almost too much heart, and was in constant danger of being victimized through his sympathies, the attitude of the mother in question always astonished him.

He held his ground; it became an unwritten law of the amphitheater that three thousand listeners had rights that even mothers were bound to respect. Once at least, so they say, the unwelcome truth had to be administered by a method akin to forcible feeding, as when—the evil being flagrant—he sarcastically remarked that the amphitheater had many exits. Severe as the observation was, it is not to be interpreted as a sign that he had lost his temper. In his role of benevolent platform despot (if one may be allowed to use the phrase) it was impossible for him to get angry.

We who were daily witnesses of his skill in managing a large body of people often forgot how the exhibition might strike a new comer. The uniform adroitness and frequent brilliancy of his tactics made the novice at Chautauqua stare with amazement. Methods like those he employed, though always dignified and in keeping with the time and the place, had a strange flavor and smacked of genius. Visitors accounted for the man's gifts in divers ways. Geography was made to play a part in the analysis. An enthusiastic Southern lady, extolling him in terms that if florid were no more than he deserved, said, "I have seen Doctor Vincent at Chautauqua, and it was perfectly wonderful the way he made those Yankees behave."

She had heard that he first saw the light of day at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and she attributed his remarkable power of command to the accident of his having been born south of Mason and Dixon's line. I meet her at long intervals, am always gratified with her eulogies of my revered uncle, and greatly enjoy her recognition of his special knack for handling Yankees. She is quite right in saying that "they would do anything he told them to do."

One falls into a way of thinking that the most brilliant days of the assembly were those in which Doctor Vincent was practically responsible for the making of the entire program, and for the conduct of all meetings of first-rate importance. The present generation will lift its collective eyebrow doubtfully on hearing this monstrous statement; but then the present generation does not know what it meant to come, summer after summer, under the spell of his magnetic influence.

As Chautauqua grew (partly by a lengthening of the season and partly by the introduction of new features), the machinery became more and more complicated. At last it reached the point of unwieldiness—it was more than one man could, in justice to himself, cope with; I am speaking of the educational department alone, the platform, the schools, the reading-circle, Doctor Vincent's peculiar province. If one began to see a little less of him it was because he could not be everywhere at the same time, even in limits as circumscribed as those of the Chautauqua grounds. If, however, it was known that he was to preside at a given meeting the building was sure to be packed. His popularity never waned.

He was greatly missed when his ecclesiastical duties took such shape as required his presence elsewhere. Then came the period of his life abroad, the four years at Zurich. That marks the division between what may be called the old Chautauqua and the new. I believe that he paid only one visit to America during those years. His reception at Chautauqua was of a nature that must have been gratifying in the extreme—a splendid proof of his hold on the place and the people.

There was one short service peculiar to the old assembly

which may be mentioned in passing, if only because the chroniclers have rather neglected it. A brief meeting was always held in the amphitheater to mark the formal close of the session. It was religious in character, and Doctor Vincent made the address. Whoever heard him on these occasions heard him to advantage. Yet the hour was unseasonable—nine or ten in the morning—and the day one when the majority of people were busy with preparations for departure. The audience was small as a matter of course. But the speaker never failed to make these occasions memorable. He gave us of his very best, though the moment was hurried and the general state of mind distracted. I can well believe that many of his friends would rather hear this farewell address than the most spectacular flight of eloquence that the season had to offer. What he said on those occasions was not easily forgotten.

He had most if not all of the qualifications that go to the making of an accomplished orator. I refer now to the externals, or, if it may be put in so homely a way, the machinery for the conveyance of the subject matter to the audience. Take for example his voice.

There are orators whose speaking voice is so good that it is impossible not to remark upon it; and they themselves are so perfectly aware of the fortunate possession that they cannot hide their complacency. You would not say of them that they are "voice and nothing besides," but you would, at a first hearing, be as much impressed by the tone of the instrument as by the tune that was played.

Doctor Vincent was not one of these. During all my long acquaintance with him I can recall nothing that would lead me to think that he prided himself on his voice, or, indeed, ever thought much about it.

His was a very remarkable voice, characteristic without being peculiar, flexible, sympathetic, penetrating, and always under perfect control. The way in which he managed it gave one the idea of a deal of power in reserve; one felt that it was not his way to use himself up in a given effort, after which he must, perforce, leave the platform in a state of partial exhaustion.

He had an absolute command of the technical side of his

art; it would appear to have been acquired more or less unconsciously. In early life he may have consulted professors of elocution—they are supposed to hold the key that unlocks the mystery of successful public discourse—but I have never heard that he did so. A natural orator, fastidious in the best sense of the word, careful about the details, he began by speaking well, and having begun thus it was easy to improve. In the matter of technique he at no time dropped below the high level he attained between the ages of forty and fifty.

Doubtless he held that the least any speaker can do is to enunciate so that he can be heard; whether he formulated a little body of theories beyond that must be learned from men with whom he may have talked on the subject. No small part of the satisfaction of hearing him was due to the fact that he could really be heard, and heard distinctly. He was, therefore, a most comfortable person to sit under. The largest audience he was called on to face was able to listen without effort; at the same time he, seemingly, made no more effort than was agreeable and fitting.

In the main he was free from one of the minor faults to which too many public speakers are inclined—that of lowering the tone at the end of a period, whereby the last word or two becomes inaudible. When it happens that those very words are needed to complete the sense the habit can only be described as exasperating. It is akin to being told all of a witty anecdote except the point.

Doctor Vincent's fondness for the conversational method might and did, now and then, betray him into talking too intimately with the front benches, but with no idea of depriving the remoter parts of the house of the benefit of what he was saying. This happened once at Mountain Lake Park. The auditorium was small—it was the pleasant *old* structure used for many years, indeed up to the time the great pavilion was built—and he simply underestimated its size. But I should say that he rarely miscalculated the volume of tone needed for reaching the auditor who sat farthest from the platform.

As to his appearance and manner on the platform it may be said that the one was as commanding as the other was agree-

able. Somewhat above medium height, well built, alert in his movements, with a fine head, expressive mouth, and piercing grey-blue eyes, he made a capital figure. His gestures were easy, natural, and on the whole characterized by what might be called an unstudied grace. Often extremely forceful in his way of emphasizing a thought, he was never violent. In the matter of gesticulation as in the choice of words he showed consummate good taste.

I am inclined to lay no little stress on the attractive features of Doctor Vincent's platform presence. His personality was winning in the extreme, and it is a deep-rooted conviction of mine that a man's looks have, at the outset, very much to do in the way of fixing the attention. As the thought takes hold the speaker is forgotten, but not till then.

And lastly, he was an unusually fluent speaker. Yet it would be difficult to name a man less eager than he to go on and on because it cost him little effort to do so. He knew the great virtue of brevity.

His sensitiveness to conditions and surroundings occasionally led him to underestimate himself, or at all events to underestimate particular efforts on particular occasions. Here is a case in point.

He was invited to give the principal address at a meeting of ministers and laymen in Arch Street Church, Philadelphia. Through the awkwardness or timidity of the presiding officer, and the selfishness of two or three speakers whose turn came before his, he was robbed of all his time. Small wonder if he resented it—the provocation was great. He sat there, sphinx-like in his imperturbability, and no doubt "thinking his thoughts." That a touch of irony might not be wanting to the situation the dull and long-winded layman who immediately preceded Doctor Vincent filled his own speech with heavy and superfluous eulogies of the distinguished guest whom they had gathered to hear—and *would* hear (he might have added) if he himself but had the grace to stop talking.

When the affair was over, and we were walking to the station where he was to take a sleeper for New York, Doctor Vincent

began to berate himself for having, as he said, failed; but not a word about the men who had put him in a trying position by using up his time and tiring out his audience. He actually seemed to think that, handicapped as he was, he ought to have made an address that fell in no respect below those he had delivered under perfect conditions and when he was in his best form. For my part I was not willing to admit the failure, and it was a satisfaction to put the blame for the infelicities of the evening as a whole exactly where it belonged. He may not have been comforted by my remarks. At the same time he listened patiently, and his expression was one that I have often noted when he was hearing opinions that he would not have uttered on his own account, but was disposed to tolerate when uttered by a loyal friend.

Of his powers as a conversationist it is difficult to speak. My impression is that when the talk lay between himself and one other he was apt to run into monologue. However instructive and entertaining this may be, it is not what is usually described as conversation. Strictly speaking there is no exchange of ideas. One gives and the other receives. Yet in spite of this tendency Doctor Vincent was one of the best of listeners. If you had a story to tell he would hear it to the bitter end.

And by the way, many of the stories he heard in the course of his long life must have had endings of exactly that sort—bitter in a literal meaning of the word. His power of sympathy led a host of people to come to him with their spiritual, intellectual, and personal difficulties. There is no telling how much good he did by virtue of his manly optimism and his plain common sense alone.

As interlocutor he frequently resorted to the method of questioning his vis-à-vis. The manner became to some extent habitual with him. One question would follow another until something came up that started a train of thought that he was interested in following out. He would at once begin to elaborate the idea, or, in other words, to talk continuously.

He was humorous (often in a quizzical way) and keenly appreciative of the quality in others. His power of repartee was extraordinary. In rapid give-and-take he had few equals.

Moreover his wit was invariably of the polished sort, a gentleman's wit. At no time in his life was it safe to cross swords with him. When well past eighty-five, with a memory that had begun to be treacherous, he was amazingly quick at retort.

Clever at raillery, he sometimes inadvertently put a keener edge on his bantering remarks than he realized. When he found that he had cut to the quick he always made the handsomest sort of apology; you felt ashamed (supposing you to have been the victim) of being so thin-skinned.

Of his inner life—the spiritual as distinguished from the intellectual—it would ill become me to speak. I know that he was profoundly religious and perfectly sincere; also that he despised cant and entertained a feeling of contempt toward a narrow ecclesiasticism. A subject of such importance must be handled by an expert, that is to say, a theologian; one who not only understands what was Doctor Vincent's precise position, but who shares his views to some extent. To this strong man religion—by which is meant Christianity—was a vital concern. He made it an affair of everyday life. No estimate of his career, however brilliantly written, will be adequate or just if it shall deal in a superficial way with a question of such profound interest.

THE TERCENTENNIAL OF THE MAYFLOWER

The voyage of the Mayflower was a deliberate plea for separation made by men who had very grave suspicions about the merits of conformity. They were not Puritans in the ordinary sense, for the Puritan loathed separation, but they owed the body of their theological beliefs to the Puritan movement begun by Thomas Cartwright and his fellow refugees at Frankfort on the Main. The Pilgrims, as it has become the fashion to call these hardy voyagers, were nearly all young people, in the neighborhood of the thirties; Miles Standish, their celebrated captain, was only thirty-six; in other respects they were typical Englishmen of the yeoman and artisan classes, with a sprinkling of those who had been accustomed to some social refinements. All were pious, discreet, pacific, albeit of an inflexible caste, and given to obeying their sense of right, be the cost what it may.

They were content to remain subjects of that abject specimen of monarchy, James Stuart, the sixth of Scotland and the first of England, but they knew him sufficiently well to feel far more contented when the Atlantic waste of waters rolled between him and them. Harried and hounded at home, this sect, which the shrewdest man of the age, Sir Francis Bacon, satirized as a conventicle of fanatics, migrated to Holland, where its members were hospitably received and made contact with some of the nobler elements of continental Protestantism. But their residence at Leyden and elsewhere in Holland convinced the Separatists that they must not sever the nexus of language and tradition which bound them to the mother land. They did not relish the stupid brutality of the Stuart bishops, yet they had no desire to become Dutchmen, or to have their children intermarrying and settling in the Netherlands. Englishmen they were, and Englishmen they remained, possessing the salient characteristics of the inhabitants of the island kingdom, and transplanting them to its first permanent colony, save Virginia, in the Americas. Besides, bred as they were to husbandry, the exiles resented the noise and con-

finement of the city and the practice of mechanical arts. Nor was Holland delivered from religious contentions, which raged between Calvinists and Arminians with the bitterness peculiar to theological controversy. Strangers in a foreign land, whose speech baffled their intercourse, they made no converts from the Dutch, and received few additions from the English. Their persecutors used the avenues of diplomacy against them, and they were prevented from acquiring more than a bare pittance in wages. The decision to seek a second home for conscience' sake was made under the conditions I have described and was eventually executed only after the severest obstacles had been surmounted. There is no need to reiterate the story of their passage, first from Delftshaven, and then from Plymouth, the return of the Speedwell or the unexpected landing on the shores of Cape Cod in New England. Macaulay's proverbial school-boy can repeat the epic in detail, and it is not likely to lose its hold on the imagination of liberty-loving men. Poverty was the problem they were put to their wits' end to solve, both in England, Holland, and North America. It was an eminently honorable poverty, productive of rare devotion and undaunted resolution. The fact that this expedition, which was undertaken at their own charges, laid the foundation of a racial expansion around the world, while other expeditions which drained Great Britain of blood and treasure produced little except chagrin, disappointment, and defeat, is sufficiently fruitful for the philosopher to moralize upon and the statesman to remember. One hundred souls, or thereabouts, set sail from Plymouth, firmly resolved never to return. The maintenance they anticipated did not materialize. Famine and disease decimated their ranks. Fifty-two died in the first year of their colonization, and the survivors owed their precarious tenure of life to a fortitude of faith which has seldom been equaled and never surpassed. Thrown upon their own resources, in a virgin territory occupied by fierce savages, and confronted by a winter climate which taxed their powers of resistance to the uttermost, the gallant company displayed the courage of their race, and built their homes in the heart of aboriginal forests. By 1627, seven years after they reached New England, they had made clearings, planted gardens, tilled and sown

fields, reaped harvests of corn and grain, and collected herds of cattle. In the same year there were 57 men, 29 women, 34 boys, and 36 girls in the colony. The crisis was passed, prospects brightened, and a Dutch agent who visited them at this time was enthusiastic over their dawning prosperity. From the external side, the showing they had made in so brief a period was creditable enough. They had not imitated the glorious freebooters of the sixteenth century, who, like Drake and his companions, came to these shores in search of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice. Far otherwise, purely commercial and monetary objectives had a minimum fascination for them. But they had demonstrated that for the poor, the oppressed, and the harassed there was in America, and north of the luxuriant landscapes of Virginia, a desirable haven; a refuge from the bigotry of the ruling powers of Britain, a continental sanctuary in which to foster a nobler and a better England than the one which saw them depart with utter indifference or ill-will.

II

Historians and annalists who have treated upon the Pilgrims are frequently accused of drenching them in the odors of indiscriminate eulogy. Their genealogical excellencies are said to have been overstressed, and assuredly of those who claim descent from them there seems to be no end. A writer in a recent issue of the London Times remarks that they have been mentioned too much and too flatteringly. According to this journalist the fictitious exaltation of the Pilgrims has rendered them formidable rather than exemplary. It may be conceded that some of their descendants or reputed descendants could let their moderation be known to advantage. But when all concessions due are made, these men and women were instrumental, under God's guiding hand, in achieving one of those miracles of religious and social development which encourage faith in this benevolent superintendence of earthly affairs. That miracle was in closest relationship with an idealism which empirical observers do not apprehend. Numerous articles and speeches have dilated upon the Pilgrim which did not get beneath the surface of his career. They praise his eco-

nomic success, his patriotism, his indomitable energy, and ascribe his prominence to a stroke of good fortune. Doubtless their praises are deserved and their ascription approximately true. But no man can do justice to the voyagers of the Mayflower who does not visualize with vividness the majestic simplicity and regnancy of their religious faith. What else made the East Anglicans leave the haunts they dearly loved and brave the perils of the ocean in a crazy cock-boat of less than two hundred tons? Why did they traverse three thousand miles of angry waters in order, as they quaintly urged, "to live as a distinct body by themselves"? The answer is, that, like all men and nations, they were controlled by an ideal, and the magnitude of their attempt to realize it registered its inherent worth. Beyond the action of hereditary bias, or educational development, or circumstantial pressure, is the resistless and transforming effect of human emotion aroused by a victorious ideal. Whatever may be the nature of the ideal entertained, no temporal consideration, no science of eugenics, no process of logic appealing to the mind, can compare with the authority of that ideal in the realm of the imagination. It is the spring of determinative power, the dynamic, either of God or of the Evil One, the height of good or the depth of ill. It has an apparently illimitable superiority, and enlists the services of every kind of talent.[1] It creates those values for which men will die, and, what is more to the purpose, strenuously live: values that cannot be measured by conventional standards, nor connected with the rise and fall of the markets any more than with the fate of governments or the schemes of place men. When we have ascertained the ruling ideal of the Pilgrim we have penetrated to the core of his enterprise and can read the riddle of the apparently feeble and hopeless venture which yet elevated England to become the maker and the mother of powerful nations. That ideal consisted in a profound and settled belief in the Divine Order in the world, to which Church and State were in all respects subordinated, from which they drew their rightful authority, and in which lay their safety and welfare. For the sake of this faith, which was in no wise the sole monopoly of the Pilgrims, but to which they

[1] Compare *The Science of Power*, by Benjamin Kidd.

brought a burning fervor that forbids description, they cheerfully tore themselves away from the ambitions that sway the mass of mankind, and became strangers and wanderers on sea and land; setting out, as did Abraham of old, not knowing whither they went.

It was their insatiate craving for the fulfillment of the Divine Order that aroused in them a consciousness of freedom then deemed perilous by earth-bound spirits to the integrity of existing institutions. No informed person supposes that freedom was the discovery of the Pilgrims. On the contrary, what we call freedom (as frequently defined as the camel, and with as little satisfaction) is the result of a series of ageless and hazardous experiments, to which many dissimilar and even antagonistic individuals and groups have contributed their quota. But though the principle is variously defined it is tenaciously held as a part of man's essential good, and it would be easy to name Hebrew seers, Greek thinkers, and Roman publicists who have stimulated its evolution and enriched its gains. Those who erroneously regard medievalism as a night of unclean things may be surprised to know that St. Thomas Aquinas and Marsiglio of Padua were as democratic in theory and as lucid in their presentation of their theories as Thomas Jefferson or John Stuart Mill. The peerless scholastic taught that all lawful powers of government are derived from the governed, and the monastic recluse of Padua outraged the contemporary hierarchy by his avowal that legislation should be enacted by the people, or by those whom the people delegated for the purpose. Further, almost without exception, these widely separated advocates and interpreters of liberty contended that its wise use and perpetuity were impossible apart from common obedience to a universally acknowledged authority. This authority was residual for them, as for the men of the Mayflower, in that Divine Order to which Roman and Protestant alike rendered unwavering allegiance. They differed in the methods the allegiance employed, but concerning the allegiance itself there was no difference. Nevertheless, these venerable beliefs and propositions remained inoperative because they needed the verification which practice alone can confer. Even the

Renaissance, renowned for a regenerated intellectualism, a recovered culture, and a renewed sense of the holiness of scholarship, did far less for freedom than it might have done. Erasmus, the bright particular star of the New Learning, the prince of the Humanists, was anxious to restrain Luther's impetuous attacks upon the ecclesiastical dominion which he had wounded with his mordant wit. The leaders of the religious revolt of the sixteenth century were given to physical violence for the coercion of the conscience in matters of belief. Calvin invoked the sword of the state for the suppression of heresy, Melanchthon prayed for some brave assassin to murder Henry VIII, Knox had a law enacted by the Scotch parliament which inflicted the capital penalty upon attendants of the Roman Mass, Anglican and Puritan divines of wide reputation spent their dying breath to fan the flames of reprisal. It was at this melancholy juncture, when toleration was repudiated by those who decreed that religious men could have no doctrines on which they agreed to differ, that the Pilgrim turned to the new world to redress the balance of the old. Not only as the intrepid soul who challenged in his frail bark the fury of the elements, but as the statesman of God who was the first to perceive afresh and unfalteringly apply the legitimate implications of freedom, he is entitled to the grateful homage of mankind. The main conception, that religious liberty is the generating principle of civil liberty, and that civil liberty is the necessary condition of religious, was reserved for rustic saints, heroes, and heroines who were frowned upon by kings, priests, and their fellow Puritans. Lord Acton, in commenting upon their notable action, says: "Many years before Milton and Taylor, Baxter and Locke were made famous by their partial condemnation of intolerance, there were men and women who grasped with vigor and sincerity the principle that it is only by abridging the authority of states that the liberty of churches can be assured." That great political idea, sanctifying freedom and consecrating it to God, teaching men to treasure the liberties of others as their own, and to defend them for the love of justice and charity more than as a claim of right, has been the soul of what is uplifting and purifying for the last three hundred years. The sacred

causes of religion were restored to their congenial atmosphere and nurturing environment, and they have since repaid in a thousand ways which the most sanguine spirits could not have foreseen the risks of the glorious enterprise of 1620. "We do verily believe and trust," wrote the incomparable John Robinson and the sagacious Elder Brewster in 1617, "that the Lord is with us unto Whom and Whose service we have given ourselves in many trials, and that He will graciously advance our endeavors according to the simplicity of our hearts." Seldom, if ever, have the ways of God toward men been more amply vindicated in the records of nations than in this instance, when he chose to bring to naught the things that are by the things that are not; to exalt the humble and the meek, and to cast down the mighty from their corrupted seat.

III

The Pilgrim concentrated his efforts, not upon theology but upon the essentials of church government. Doctrinal formulas could wait with patience for the light which was yet to break forth from God's Word. In the meantime the evil which those who lorded it over the divine heritage had grievously committed was removable; consociation supplanted subordination; the church was governed, not by the state, nor by the bishops, nor by presbyters whose name was "but priest writ large," but by the members of whom it was composed. Institutions which had hitherto been historic centers of propaganda were abolished in behalf of popular control. Submission of matters of faith and order to the dictation of the state was the abomination of desolation, and went by the name of Babylon. Persecution was spiritual murder, and even the Reformers who had resorted to it in the vain hope of preserving unity were guilty of the deeds of darkness. Prerogatives of every kind, whether held over churches or nations, were arraigned at the bar of this stringent logic, supplemented, as it was, by reason and by revelation. The independents in politics and congregationalists in religious profession who stayed at home fought in Cromwell's armies, where they obtained a good report as warriors. But they

fought, according to their own account, not for their religion, but for the liberty of conscience which is the birthright of man. To them and to their brethren beyond the seas belongs the imperishable distinction of having enforced a single germinal ideal, which, but for their devotion, might have been indefinitely postponed. With that ideal the massive fortunes of the commonwealths of English-speaking men are now inextricably involved. When Puritanism had need of amelioration, and its rigid tenets menaced its future, the Pilgrims appeared upon the scene to inject into its austere system the clemency and forbearance foreign to Thomas Cartwright and his followers. We remember with pardonable pride that the Puritan rolled back the tides of a counter-reformation, broke the spell of autocratic casuistry, and saved the liberties of Europe from extinction by despots whose cruelties and exactions were a studied philosophy of oppression. But we also have to remember that the protectorate of Great Britain was set up and brought low by the sword. Englishmen hailed its ruin with joyful acclamation and rushed from its austere impositions into a wild orgy of license and turpitude we would willingly forget. The few self-expatriated Pilgrims who signed the compact in the cabin of the Mayflower were delivered from the delusions of physical supremacy. They rested their case upon the righteousness of heaven and left it in the care of justice, of compassion, and of man's unconquerable mind. That they did not witness the full fruition of their labors is nothing against their claims upon us. And those who complain of their personal shortcomings must reflect that human emancipation and progress are not wrought by the "bottled essences" of morality which the fastidious desiderate, but by the active combinations of good with evil that so often cause truth and right to take oblique directions. There is little propriety in moralizing upon the history we commemorate. It is eloquent in its own language, and that language is articulate in as brave and wise an undertaking as the golden roll of English worthies can supply. But that the church will have to gain, as did the Pilgrims, a new vision of her mission to mankind, and of her vocation as the organ and the vehicle of the Divine Order in the world I, for one, cannot for

a moment question. Then, and not till then, will liberty find unity, and the household of faith become the nucleus and the inspiration of a social stability which ruthless wars cannot assail, nor political anarchies affect. Until believing souls everywhere are federated into oneness, the mission of the Pilgrims is not consummated. Therefore we must employ the freedom they planted to find the unity and concord we need. When these virtues reign in the church she will have made a further advance, and the world will not only believe, it will know that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God and the Redeemer of mankind.

S. Parkes Cadman.

APPROXIMATE EQUIVALENTS IN RELIGION

Diverse in form as are the religions of the world, particular acts of worship found in them may be, and often are, approximately equivalent in their psychological effect upon the worshiper. This fact has seldom received adequate attention. To illustrate its significance let us recall a unique religious ceremony in the history of Israel; then one equally unique in the history of China. Neither of these ceremonies was ever repeated.

The earlier of the two is familiar to us all, and can be quickly sketched. It was that connected with the bringing of the ark of Yahveh from the house of Aminadab to the royal tent prepared for it in the newly acquired city of David. According to the record, and indeed according to the nature of the case, this was an event of no small moment in the eyes of the king and in the eyes of his people. It was in their view nothing less than a state-reception to the King of Heaven. It furthermore contemplated the securing of his permanent residence in the new capital, and the winning of his abiding blessing on the new dynasty.

Whatever may have been the reverence with which David viewed the sacred ark, he certainly did not regard it as the proper abode of Yahveh. Had he done so, he would have been far behind the heathen round about him. No contemporary king of Phœnicia, or of Egypt, or of Babylon considered his own national god as confined to any one shrine, portable or fixed, or as claiming anything less than a throne in the highest heaven. Fortunately the higher critics have left to us one Psalm—the 18th—as genuinely Davidic in authorship, and from that we are abundantly shown that Yahveh's true abode was not in any ark, or tent, or mountain, but in the highest heaven. And this psalmist tells how at his cry of need Yahveh "bowed the heavens and came down" in a theophany of rescue and help, displaying a majesty and power before which the very "foundations of the world were laid bare." More need not be quoted to show that one is not overstating the case when saying that the ceremony before

us was, in the eyes of David and his people, nothing less than a state reception to the august King of Heaven.

In so grave a business David did not proceed unadvisedly. The record says he "consulted with the captains of thousands and of hundreds, and with every leader. And David said unto all the assembly of Israel, If it seem good unto you, and if it be of Yahveh our God, let us send abroad everywhere unto our brethren that are left in all the land of Israel . . . that they may gather themselves unto us, and let us bring again the ark of our God to us; for we sought not unto it in the days of Saul. And all the assembly said that they would do so; for the thing was right in the eyes of all the people." Then the record proceeds:

> "So David assembled all Israel together from Sihor the brook of Egypt even unto the entrance of Hamath, to bring the ark of God. And David went up and all Israel . . . and they carried the ark of God upon a new cart. . . . And David and all Israel played before God with all their might, even with songs, and with harps, and with psalteries, and with timbrels, and with cymbals, and with trumpets."

Immense and imposing must have been this procession advancing in festive array. But suddenly there is a pause, the music is stilled. The joy is supplanted by a feeling of horror and dismay. The sacred car has come to a full stop, and one of the drivers lies dead upon the ground. Terror seizes upon all hearts; and after reverently depositing the ark in the house of a godly near-by citizen, the panic-stricken king, his retinue, and all the uncounted marchers hastily disperse to their respective places of abode.

Three months later, God having meantime given the king and his people a memorable victory over the Philistines and in this way furnished a signal proof of his favor, David again feels moved to fetch the ark to his capital. And the story as resumed by the sacred writer is wonderfully vivid. It begins as follows: "Then David said, None ought to carry the ark of God but the Levites, for them hath Yahveh chosen to carry the ark of God and to minister before him forever. And David assembled all Israel at Jerusalem to bring up the ark unto the place which he had prepared for it." It is as if he had said to himself, "This proces-

sion must be on a grander scale if possible than before. And the ark must not be drawn by oxen, but borne upon the shoulders of its divinely appointed custodians. And greater care must be taken that no unauthorized hand come near the sacred shrine." Accordingly David gathered together the sons of Aaron and the Levites, and said unto them,

"Sanctify yourselves, both ye and your brethren, that ye may bring up the ark of Yahveh, the God of Israel, unto the place that I have prepared for it. For because ye bare it not at the first, Yahveh, our God, made a breach upon us, for that we sought him not according to the ordinance. So the priests and the Levites sanctified themselves to bring up the ark.

"And David spake to the chief of the Levites to appoint their brethren the singers, with instruments of music, psalteries and harps and cymbals, sounding aloud and lifting up the voice with joy."

So the Levites appointed them and their leaders. Besides the singers, equipped with cymbals of brass, others are named who were furnished with psalteries. Six, one of them good Obed-edom himself, were given harps to harp withal; and seven expressly named priests did blow the trumpet in front of the moving ark. "And it came to pass that when God helped the Levites that bare the ark . . . that they sacrificed seven bullocks and seven rams." Choral dances were introduced in keeping with the choral music.

"And David was clothed with a robe of fine linen, and all the Levites that bare the ark, and Chenaniah the master of the song with the singers; and David had upon him also an ephod of fine linen. Thus all Israel brought up the ark of the covenant of Yahveh with shouting, and with the sound of the cornet, and with trumpets and with cymbals sounding aloud with psalteries and harps."

Wonderful national enthusiasm. Was ever a new capital more fitly dedicated? But to a thoughtful modern mind, the pageant aspect of that historic day was by no means the most impressive thing about it. If David was the author of the eighteenth Psalm, and held the views of God therein expressed, the psychological procession of thoughts and thrills which was moving through his soul as the outward ceremony proceeded, must have been far more wonderful. He—he alone—was the royal host entertaining as his visitor his Over-Sovereign. In answer to

his invitation the Lord of the immeasurable heavens had come down to visit him, and to establish a visible oracle among his people. As the harpers harp and the trumpeters trumpet, David is saying to himself: "Who is God save Yahveh, and who is a fortress, save our God? . . . In my distress I called upon Yahveh and he heard my voice. . . . Yahveh was my stay. . . . Thou hast given me the shield of thy salvation. . . . Thou hast made me the head of the nations. Yahveh liveth, and blessed be my rock, exalted be the God of my salvation. I will give thanks unto thee among the nations. I will sing praises unto thy name."

These ejaculations from the eighteenth Psalm show us something of David's conception of God. They also show us something of what a young king, holding such a conception, must have felt on such a day of unexampled responsibility. And who that has any adequate conception of God's responsiveness to human seeking, and of God's incessant seeking for human responsiveness, can for one moment doubt that in this devoutly executed ceremony David experienced a sense of divine nearness and uplifting approximating the highest that ever a man while yet in the flesh can know? One feels inclined to wonder whether the dance in which the self-discrowned and self-disrobed monarch joined to express his religious ecstasy was any more under the control of his ordinary volition than were Saul's involuntary prophesyings under *his* control on the day when the wondering people exclaimed: "Is Saul also among the prophets?" In any case, on that day of the ark's removal one elated human spirit, consciously representing tens of thousands of other human spirits, sought, and doubtless found, a previously unattained audience with the Most High.

Now alongside of this public religious function of David's let us place one taken from the religious history of China. Let us betake ourselves to Peking—the city whose laying-out is religiously more significant than that of any other in the world. East, west, north and south of the city proper are four imperial temples located in sacred groves and gardens of rare extent and beauty. In each of these, the Emperor, as Vicegerent of Heaven and High Priest of his people, was for ages at appointed dates, annually,

to hold solemn religious services in behalf of his almost countless subjects. The temple on the east is that of the Sun; on the west is the temple of the Moon; on the north the temple of the Earth; on the south the temple of Heaven with its unparalleled "Round Altar." Let us examine this Altar of Heaven more closely, for it was here that the ceremony about to be described took place. As the inverted altar in the northern temple is square to represent the squareness of the four-cornered earth, so this southern altar is round to represent the roundness of the sky. Unlike our altars, it stands wholly out of doors, and is canopied only by the azure roof of the world. It is built of white marble, and of a size befitting its purpose. It lifts itself in three successive terraces. The diameter of the crowning terrace is 90 feet; that of the next below 150 feet; that of the basal one 210 feet. In the center of the topmost terrace is the most sacred point of all. It is marked by a large round block of white marble and represents the polar center of the highest heaven. In the thought of the age-long state-religion of China there are nine heavens overarching the earth, and each of these heavens is peopled by spirits ranked according to the excellence of their respective abodes. To symbolize these nine heavens, the marble steps which at each of the four cardinal points of the compass give access to the top of the altar number from terrace to terrace in every case nine. Furthermore, the white block in the center of the topmost terrace is surrounded by nine concentric circles constructed of colored marble. Furthermore, the innermost of the nine rings consists of just nine blocks; the next of twice nine, the next of three times nine, and so on to the outermost, which has nine times nine. Surely, one might search the world in vain for a second altar comparable to this.

More wonderful, however, than the altar itself are the sacred associations of the place. Here, for 4000 years, as our best Sinalogues assure us, the highest officials of the most numerous and in a sense the most historic of all the races of mankind have reverently worshiped the God of heaven. Here at dates determined by the movements of the astronomic universe, the last of the Chinese Emperors worshiped. Here is part of a prayer annually

offered from immemorial times by the Emperor prostrate upon his face upon the top of the topmost terrace of the round altar: "Far distant here, I look up to Thy heavenly palace. Come in Thy precious chariot to the Altar. Thy servant, I bow my head to the earth, reverently expecting Thy abounding grace. All my officers are here ranked with me, joyfully worshiping before Thee. All spirits, from the East to the West, accompany Thee as guards. Thy servant, I prostrate myself to meet Thee, and reverently look up for Thy coming, O Ti. Oh that Thou wouldst vouchsafe to accept our offerings, and regard us, while thus we worship Thee, whose goodness is inexhaustible."[1]

Such is, and such from times untraceable has been, a portion of the annual solstitial service at this dateless round altar of heaven. Now, however, we are to witness, right here, a service unique in character, a ceremony never before, and never since, attempted. What can it be?

In answering this question we must go back almost four hundred years, to a date before the establishment of intercourse between China and Europe. In Christian chronology it is the year 1538. Kiah Tsing, of the Ming dynasty, is in the 17th year of his reign. For some reason, to us unknown, he and his advisers have decided to make a slight change in one of the time-honored traditional titles by which Shang-ti, the Over-Lord of the universe, is addressed in prayer. The old title is, "Shang-ti, dwelling in the bright heavens"; it has now been decreed to substitute for this: "Shang-ti, dwelling in the sovereign heavens." The change seems to us very slight; it is simply the substitution of the word "sovereign" for "bright" in the description of God's dwelling place. But in the eyes of this reverent people it is a most momentous matter. A humanly originated change in the honorific title of him who is the King eternal, immortal and invisible should have a celestial ratification. How can this be obtained in a manner befitting the court-etiquette of the Over-Sovereign of Earth and Heaven?

Of course in so solemn an act all spirits in the nine heavens and also all spirits in the various parts of the earth are entitled

[1] Legge, Notions of the Chinese concerning God and Spirits, pp. 24, 25.

to recognition and to participation. They must all be duly notified and their friendly intercessions must be respectfully solicited. Furthermore, this notification and solicitation must be a suitable period before the contemplated final act, so that all preparations in the heavenly and earthly places may be made with propriety. Six days therefore before the great ceremony, a grand procession with the Emperor at its head moves to the great round altar, and after costly offerings have been made, the summoned universe of created intelligences listen to the following proclamation:

"I, Kiah Tsing, by inheritance Emperor of the Great Illustrious Dynasty, have seriously prepared a paper to give information to

The spirit of the sun,

The spirit of the moon,

The spirits of the five planets, the constellations of the zodiac, and of all the stars in all the heavens;

The spirits of the clouds, the rain, wind and thunder;

The spirits which have duties assigned them throughout the whole heavens;

The spirits of the five grand mountains;

The spirits of the five grand guardian hills;

* * * * * * * * * *

The spirits of the four seas;

The spirits of the four great rivers;

The intelligences which have duties assigned them upon the earth;

All the celestial spirits under heaven;

All the terrestrial spirits under heaven;

The spirit presiding over the present year;

The spirit presiding over the tenth month and the spirits over every day;

And the spirit in charge of the ground about the border altar:

"On the first day of the coming month, we shall reverently lead our officers and people to honor the great name of Shang-ti, dwelling in the sovereign heavens, looking up to the lofty nine-storied azure vault. We inform you beforehand, all ye celestial and all ye terrestrial spirits, and will trouble you on our behalf, to exert your spiritual power, and display your vigorous efficacy, communicating our poor desire to Shang-ti, and praying him graciously to grant us his acceptance and regard, and to be pleased with the title which we shall reverently present.—For this purpose we have made this paper for your information. All ye spirits should be well aware of our purpose. Ye are respectfully informed."

On this remarkable notice to all created intelligences it would be interesting to comment. Space, however, does not permit. There is too much to follow. During the six days heaven and

earth make ready for the momentous ceremony. At the appointed day and hour all created intelligences are assembled around and above the great white altar of Peking. The human portion of the vast and countless congregation are all in festive array. The nearness or remoteness of each division is fixed by the inflexible rules of an etiquette reaching far back beyond any memory of man. At the great altar, supported by his attendants, his high officers and musicians, stands the Emperor, the center of all eyes, celestial and terrestrial. Eleven times he and his attendants prostrate themselves in reverent homage. Recognizing the invisible advent of Shang-ti, the Emperor greets him as the world's creator and intones the following psalm:

"Of old, in the beginning, there was the unbounded chaos, without form and dark. The five elements had not begun to revolve nor the sun and moon to shine. In the midst thereof there presented itself neither form nor sound. Thou, O Spiritual Sovereign, camest forth in Thy presidency, and first didst divide the grosser parts from the purer. Thou madest heaven; Thou madest earth; Thou madest man. All things got their being, with their reproducing power."

Here appears to have been a pause and a dance, representing perhaps the bringing of the primordial elements into cosmic harmony.

The next duty of the Emperor was to make his communication to Shang-ti respecting the new title. He discharged it in the following prayer, in which his thoughts pass naturally over from creatorship to rightful sovereignty:

"O Ti, when Thou hadst opened the course for the inactive and active forces of matter to operate, Thy creative work went forward. Thou didst produce, O Spirit, the sun and moon and five planets; and pure and beautiful was their light. The vault of heaven was spread out like a curtain, the square earth supported all on it, and all creatures were happy. I, Thy servant, presume reverently to thank Thee, and, while I worship, present to Thee, O Ti, the notice, calling Thee *Sovereign*."

Precious stones and silks of costliest kinds were then presented as offerings, with the following prayer:

"Thou hast vouchsafed to hear us, O Ti, for as our Father Thou regardest us. I, Thy child, dull and unenlightened, am unable to show forth my feelings, I thank Thee that Thou hast accepted the intimation.

Honorable is Thy great name. With reverence we spread out these precious stones and silks; and, as swallows rejoicing in the spring, praise Thy abundant love."

Here must have been another of the nine musical interludes.

Next we find the offerings of food brought forth with imperial prodigality. The following is the close of the offertory prayer:

"Enjoy the offering, O Ti; then shall all the people have happiness. I, Thy servant, receiving Thy favors, am blessed indeed."

Next follow three successive drink-offerings of wine, each accompanied by an appropriate prayer. In one of these prayers are the words:

"Thou alone, O Lord, art the true parent of all things. All living things are indebted to Thy goodness. Men and creatures are emparadised, O Ti, in Thy love. . . . The breast of Thy servant is troubled that he can make no recompense."

At this point the various offerings are gathered up, and the following prayer recited:

"The service of song is completed, but our poor sincerity cannot be fully expressed. Thy sovereign goodness is infinite. As a potter hast Thou made all living things. Great and small are curtained round by Thee from harm. As engraven on the heart of Thy poor servant is the sense of Thy goodness, but my feeling cannot be fully expressed. With great kindness dost Thou bear with us, and notwithstanding our demerits, dost grant us life and prosperity."

Now follows the Emperor's touching valedictory to his celestial guest. Though all the balconies of the nine o'erarching heavens are crowded with eager listeners this high priest of the Empire addresses no word to any ear save to those of Him who from this time forward is Over-Sovereign in a new and richer sense. And these are the words of valediction:

"With reverent ceremonies the record has been presented; and Thou, O 'Sovereign' Spirit, hast deigned to accept our service. The dances have all been performed, and nine times the music has resounded. Grant, O Ti, Thy great blessing to increase the happiness of my dynasty. The instruments of metal and precious stones have given out their melody; the jeweled girdles of the officers have given forth their tinklings. Spirits and men rejoice together praising Ti, the Lord. What limit, what measure, can there be, while we celebrate His great name? Forever

He setteth fast the high heavens and establisheth the solid earth. His government is everlasting. I, His unworthy servant, bow my head, and lay it in the dust, bathed in His grace and glory."

So ends this state reception to Lord of Earth and King of Heaven. But what shall become of the gem-adorned document in which the change of title was presented to that celestial guest? And what shall be done with all these other costly yet perishable offerings, now doubly sacred? Let the holy altar flame transport them to the skies. So this is done and, during the cremation, the Emperor's voice is heard once more, and for the last time. And these are the words of his accompaniment:

"We have worshiped, and written the Great Name on this gem-like sheet. Now we display it before Ti, and place it in the fire. These precious offerings of silks and fine meats we burn also, with these sincere prayers, that they may ascend in volumes of flame to the distant azure. All the ends of the earth look up to Him. All human beings, all things on the earth rejoice together in the Great Name."

Here for us the curtain drops. This pageant of earth and heaven is at an end. To any unconcerned on-looker it must have been impressive beyond all ordinary pomps of cities and of courts. But who does not see that the most interesting procession of that day was not the one timed to music and headed by the gorgeous Emperor? Who does not see that, as the service proceeded from stage to stage, there must have been within the soul of that pious Emperor a succession of thoughts and thrills not unlike those which on that earlier Jerusalem day filled and thrilled the soul of David? If possible, imagine yourself the one imperial Vicegerent of God on earth, entitled by nature and office to address with authority all spirits of the earth, the spirits of the sun and of the moon, all spirits of the thrice three heavens; imagine all these as assembled about and above you at your call—each intent on your every word and gesture—then imagine yourself as addressing in this presence the Great Being, whose throne is above all heavens, but who in grace is now present to give you audience—the only being in the universe superior to yourself in authority, yet the Being who has called you his Son and has installed you as the only divinely instituted monarch of mankind. Could any human

being bear such a part in such a ceremony and not be lifted far above all ordinary levels of experience? Can God Himself have been witness to such an upreaching of his human children toward Him and not have descended to meet it in some inner theophony that was felt to be from Him? Even before that memorable day this pious Emperor must have had some experience of divine visitations—else how could he have uttered before the third drink-offering that ascription so worthy of a place in St. Augustine's confessions: "All living beings are indebted to Thy goodness, O Lord; men and all creatures are emparadised in Thy love!"

Pausing for a moment at this point, let us place this inner experience of Emperor Tsing alongside that of King David. Is it not evident that in proportion as each monarch was sincere and worshipful, the psychological effect of his leadership in the great ceremony approximated the ideal effect of all true piety. In other words, must not the action have evoked and strengthened profound reverence before the divinest being known by the worshiper, and must it not have brought into vivid consciousness the vital and personal relationship which should ever subsist between the human soul and its acknowledged Creator? But if this was true, it is plain that the two ceremonials, two and a half thousand years apart in time, and more than four thousand miles apart in space, wonderfully approximated each other in the most important of all respects, namely, in psychological effect upon the worshiper.

Did space permit it would be instructive to note that what we have found true of such extraordinary and spectacular religious functions, is also true of functions of the more ordinary and habitual kind. We must content ourselves with a single illustration, and this in barest outline.

For a moment we are in the slums of a great city. We step into a hot and crowded mission-hall where, with tears streaming down his cheeks, an earnest evangelist is pleading with lost men to yield to the drawings of God's gracious Spirit, repent of their sins and by faith enter into the conscious blessedness of pardoned and adopted sons of God. Note his psychological attitude and state. In his all-dominating consciousness he is in all literalness an ambassador of God. He is at this moment uttering the life

and death message of the Most High. Of his commission he is perfectly certain. Before coming to this service, he was on his knees in his closet, asking and receiving a renewal of his credentials. In his mind the certainty of to-morrow's sunrise cannot be compared with the certainty that in this very meeting the Holy Spirit is to give instant effect to each repeated warning and promise of God's Holy Word. The ascended Christ is present and is far more interested than even his weeping messenger can possibly be. Other heavenly witnesses are here, and through some quick wireless telegraphy there is joy in heaven over each repentant sinner. In proportion to his sincerity and earnestness that preacher feels himself divinely stationed in one of the Thermopylaes of the universe. If for any reason he shall be defeated, God, and all holy beings—yea the total race of redeemed humanity will in that defeat suffer a loss absolutely irretrievable. How indescribable the trembling elation which dominates the fully aroused preacher in such a spiritual function!

Go now to the neighboring cathedral. An equally sincere and earnest priest is before the illuminated altar. He is to celebrate High Mass in behalf of the gathered multitude of kneeling worshipers. In outward things the contrast between this place and the mission-hall seems almost indescribable. There dinginess, confinement, clamor—here splendor, spaciousness, harmony. But to that pious priest, as to the pleading evangelist, these outward surroundings are of but slight significance. The invisible transactions in which he is engaged are the only ones of essential meaning. He is a priest of God, here present to mediate salvation to souls who but for him, and such as he, must perish everlastingly. For this time and place he is God's only priest in all the universe. And he is called to work a miracle here and now. Bread and wine are to be transmuted into the veritable body and blood of the incarnate Son of God. Not a doubt dampens the ardor of his purpose to feed the perishing with the literal bread of life. He is absolutely sure that at his word rightly spoken the stupendous transubstantiation will be instantaneously wrought. It is only fitting that all heaven should be attent. Above each kneeling worshiper hovers his guardian angel. The archangel Michael is

standing "at the right of the altar of incense." Stage by stage the familiar liturgy brings before the eyes of priest and people the closing scenes of the immortal tragedy of Calvary. Now we are in Pilate's hall, and the priest dips his fingers in water to recall the scene of Pilate washing his hands. Now we are upon the Via Dolorosa, and every pathetic incident is recalled in reverent symbol. At last, at the tinkling of the tiny altar bell, in breathless silence the priest secretly utters the mirific words appointed, and, lo, the miracle is wrought. Quickly the transubstantiated hostia is lifted in the blazing monstrance for the adoration of the faithful. Once more, in the presence of the witnessing universe, the incarnate Son of God, in absolute reality, has been offered up, an effective sacrifice for the sins of the world. Were I that earnest priest, possessed of his beliefs and realizations, would I not feel that I was standing on holy ground, and that the Almighty had put signal honor upon me, his mouthpiece, his partner—aye, his vicegerent in the administration of eternal life to men?

Brief and broken as are these glimpses at the ever-repeated work of the evangelist and at the ever-repeated work of the priest, it is evident that the psychological states or attitudes of the two men are well-nigh identical. Each feels himself to be the personal organ of the one personal God in effecting an instantaneous divine operation of infinite import. In his own consciousness each is a divinely appointed mediator of that unique and superhuman energy without which no human being can be delivered from evil and made a partaker of imperishable good. With unfaltering faith, each expects in the use of the appointed means to effect the full equivalent of an inward theophany. In the noblest etymological sense of the word each is a theurgist. As a consequence, each, in proportion to his sincerity and ardor of devotion, experiences that ineffable quickening of spirit which ever comes of a conscious endeavor to be in reality a worker together with God.

Our present study of approximate equivalents in diverse religions must here close. Compared with the field it opens, it is most brief and fragmentary. But brief and fragmentary though it be, it inevitably starts a multitude of questions, and

questions of profoundest import. Of these, three only will here be noted and commended to serious thought.

1. Assuming the sincere and impartial love of God toward all his human children, must there not exist in all sincere worshipers genuine fruits of the Spirit seldom recognized by us in our estimates and portrayals of the non-Christian religions?

2. Is there, or has there ever been, a religion in which the idea of a theanthropic mediation has not, in some form, been found? In Confucianism least of all would one expect to find it: yet precisely here, statedly, at the matchless Altar of Heaven, an earth-born "Son of Heaven" for ages exercised the mediatorial office of sacrifice and intercession for his millions on millions of subjects.

3. If the uplifted Christ is ever to draw all men unto him, and if, as we hope, all human aspirations and endeavors Godward are ultimately to be fulfilled and consummated in his kingdom, must not the current conceptions of Christian worship and forms of worship be vastly widened and enriched—especially the conceptions historically traceable to Rome's striving after canonical uniformity, or to Calvin's rejection of creaturely freedom, or to Luther's confusion of letter and spirit, or to the combined influence of our innovating sects and their reactions against parent bodies and against each other? Must not all these conceptions give place to one, according to which—as a great modern has taught—nature in one temple, the world one parish, God's proffer of a divine life universal—extending in some form even to the brute creation, and finally, according to which sincerity in the worshiper, whatever his offering or his form, insures divine approval.

The inferences latent in the foregoing questions have tremendous import for every man who believes himself called of God to the work of the Christian ministry. They bring home to us, if such we are, an almost crushing sense of our personal and official shortcomings. They vindicate *God's* dealings with men, but not *our* dealings. They remind us that in demonstrations of uttermost sincerity we are daily outdone by every self-torturing devotee in the heathen world. We are made to see that in point

of conscious realization of present divine cooperation, we are often in our most solemn religious acts far behind the Siberian shaman, or the howling dervish. And shall not He who seeth not as man seeth, but who looketh upon the heart, judge both them and us according to our respective attitudes of heart, our degrees of fidelity or infidelity to the light within us? And since our Incarnate Lord has called us to be the light of the world, and has commissioned us to carry his teaching and life unto every soul within our reach, will it not be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for us if in indolence and stupid self-seeking we fail to realize, in every sermon and in every exhortation, that we are veritable mouthpieces of a divine speaker, veritable organs of God's omnipotence for the instantaneous transubstantiation, not of bread and wine, but of imperishable human spirits? Standing at the summit of all God's gracious revelations, recognized ambassadors of the one Godman, conscious embodiments of God's almighty Spirit, what manner of preachers ought not we to be, on whom are come the consummation of the hopes and visions of the Old World's kings and prophets, the accomplished victories of all the Christian ages in all the Christian lands. Well may we pray the Lord to forgive our guilty past, and make us from this hour forward more vital and effective workers together with himself!

William F. Warren

THE BIBLE ESTIMATE OF WOMAN

To the writer of this paper it is a regrettable fact that it should be a woman's estimate of the Bible estimate of woman. A proper presentation of the theme has necessitated a reading of the Bible entire with this object in view. The study has been rewarded by finding that all through the Bible narrative woman plays a conspicuous role. From Genesis to Revelation, in fact or fancy, she is there, an indispensable factor worthy of consideration. In the Old Testament there are five hundred and thirty-six references made to woman. This is not the number of times any word referring to woman occurs, but the number of thought statements expressed in a sentence, a paragraph, a chapter or a book, as in Ruth and Esther. This includes parallel passages only where something new is expressed. If two or more passages present the same idea it is counted but once. In the New Testament there are one hundred and sixty such references made to woman. So in the entire Bible there are six hundred and ninety-six distinct and independent references made to woman as woman. There are many passages in the Bible where the context would seem to imply that woman was included in the general term, man. In the Bible, as well as in life, woman's presence and influence are felt even though her position may be far in the background.

In considering the Bible estimate we have in mind the fact that it covers a period of at least one thousand years in the actual dates of writing the different books in the Old and New Testaments. In the course of ten centuries we should expect ideas upon anything whatsoever to have made marked changes in development. We recognize, too, that in any period of time in which an author writes, so far as he mentions woman at all, he is reflecting the attitude toward her current in his day. Consequently we have in the Bible estimate of woman an expression of the Divine purpose for woman, which she shares with man, colored by the popular opinion of the masses and the individual opinion of the many writers of the books of the Bible in their respective periods of writing.

In the two widely varying accounts of the creation there are

presented a higher and a lower conception of the status of woman. These are philosophical attempts to explain the why of things that are four hundred years apart in their dates of writing. The earliest account was written in the ninth century, in the time of Elisha. It is the document beginning with the last section of the fourth verse of Genesis 2 and continuing through the third chapter. In this second creation story woman is an afterthought which necessity developed. After heaven and earth had been created the central object of further creation was man, the male, who was formed a living soul. For him Jehovah God made a garden, and then, realizing that it was not good for man to live alone, he sought to provide a companion for him. Every sort of animal was presented to man with no answering satisfaction until woman was fashioned, and when man saw her he seemed filled with the idea of possessing. Woman at once became a delight and a trouble and a very convenient person to bear the burden of blame. She is charged with luring man into disobedience to the command of Jehovah in spite of the statement that to man, before woman was formed, was given the command not to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Woman's will to know, her initiative, in the quest after truth was reckoned unto her as sin. She led, man acquiesced, and because of her adventure into the realm of knowledge a jealous God decreed that from that time on woman should be ruled by the man and have cause to suffer great pains. Man's punishment was work, but in this, too, the woman seems to have had her full share. The same document later on speaks of the daughters of the priest of Midian as watering the flocks. This certainly was hard manual labor.

Passing on from the creation story, the authors of the J. & E. document seem to be consistent in their estimate of the proper subordination of the woman to the man. No daughters are mentioned as having been born to Adam and Eve, yet there was a wife for Cain. It was dangerous for attractive women to travel abroad. Abram sensed the watchful eye and desire of the king of Egypt, hence his deception in regard to Sara, his wife. Woman as a sex had no say in regard to her person. The father of

daughters had the right to do anything he wanted to with them, to sell or give them away. Lot was willing to barter his two virgin daughters for the safety of the two men who were guests in his home at Sodom. The great object in life for woman was to bear children. To be childless was a disgrace. Before the fulfillment of her father's tragic vow Jephthah's daughter asked for two months in which to go to the mountains to mourn her virginity with her companions. As a mother of children woman was to be honored by her offspring. To smite or curse either parent was punishable by death.

A man might have as many wives and concubines as he could provide for. They were his property, even as his flocks and other possessions. As the property of the man there were laws for her protection just as there were laws for the protection of his cattle. Wives and servants were not to work on the Sabbath, neither were the oxen. If a master gave a wife to a servant the wife and her children remained the property of the master if after seven years the servant took his freedom. If the man was married before he became the servant, the wife went with him as his property when he claimed his freedom. Widows were to be protected, sorceresses were to be put to death. Conquering tribes took the women of the conquered for their own. Sometimes they were slain. The women folk received punishment when the head of the family did wrong. The women and the children shared the fate of Korah and his men when he rebelled against the dictatorship of Moses and Aaron. The women, children and cattle of Achan were stoned to death and afterwards burned in the valley of Achor because the head of the family salvaged some devoted goods for himself. When Miriam the prophetess and Aaron her brother objected to Moses marrying the Cushite woman they thought Jehovah could speak to them as well as to Moses. Moses offered no defense, but Jehovah took up the cudgels and said that his servant Moses was not to be spoken against. Anger was shown toward both Aaron and Miriam, but Aaron went unpunished. Miriam was stricken with leprosy and ostracized from the camp a week. Women had some influence over the men who loved them. Sara, Rebekah, and Rachel seem to

have been thus favored. Foreign women were a mighty attraction to the Hebrews, and often weaned them away from the worship of Jehovah.

The prophets of the eighth century, Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah, drew a dark picture of the life of woman. This was in part figurative, for the unfaithfulness of Israel was spoken of in terms of the harlot. The looseness of life between the sexes was referred to as representing Israel's laxity in obeying the commands of Jehovah. For her wrongdoing, pain and suffering were to be visited upon Israel as of a woman in travail. The emphasis upon woman during the ninth and eighth centuries B. C. was a sexual emphasis. She was made for man's pleasure and was his property. Marriage was polygamous and there was often bitter strife between competing wives.

Advancing to the writings of the seventh and sixth centuries, much of the former attitude is evidenced, but some progress was made. There were recognitions of woman's ability in various ways. The song of Deborah, whatever else it may commemorate, is a triumph song giving lasting tribute to the use which two women made of their opportunity. It was a time when conditions were very bad. The highways were unoccupied and the travelers walked through byways because it was not safe for them to do otherwise. There were no soldiers in Israel and the rulers had ceased from the land. All was chaos until Deborah, a prophetess, arose, "a mother in Israel." Men came to her for judgment. When war threatened she summoned Barak to lead a company of men against Sisera, the captain of Jabin's army, king of Canaan. Barak answered, perhaps with some contempt, "If thou wilt go with me, I will go: but if thou wilt not, I will not." Deborah was ready with her reply, "I will surely go with thee, but the journey that thou takest will not be for thine honor, for Jehovah will sell Sisera into the hand of a woman." Deborah, equal to her part, ordered the moves, and Sisera died at the hand of Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite. Deborah in her song is grateful for the willingness of the governors of Israel to offer their services. Much honor is given to Jael. It was "in the days of Jael" that these things occurred. There was a touch of tender-

ness and of sympathy in the thought of the anxious waiting of the mother of Sisera for the return of her son; but the enemies of Jehovah must perish, so why grieve!

In Judges 13 the reasoning ability of woman is brought out in the story of Manoah's wife, who had been childless. It seems that an angel of Jehovah told her that she was to have a son and cautioned her to abstain from all liquors and unclean things. Her husband was fearful lest they should die, because they had seen God through the angel, but his wife stoutly affirmed that if God had been displeased with them he would not have accepted their offerings, nor would he have told them the things that he had.

Samson was twice outwitted by his foreign wives.

Micah's mother, from whom he had stolen a sum of money, expressed her gratitude for her son's confession and return of the money by dedicating the amount to Jehovah for her son.

Sagacity was shown by Rahab, the harlot who befriended the two men sent over to spy the country and saved them from the hands of the king of Jericho. She fooled the king's men, succeeded in putting them entirely off the trail, planned the spies' escape, bargained for the safety of her own family, discerned coming events, and was taken to live with the Israelites when they captured the city.

Achsah, Caleb's daughter, had an eye for the best chance. When her father promised to give her to the man who should smite Kirjath-sepher, Othniel proved to be the man. When he came to claim his bride she influenced him to request the gift of a field from her father. Upon the father's interrogating her as to what she wanted she asked for springs of water to go along with the land in the south. She was given the upper and the lower springs.

When David was in hiding from Saul he sought the favor of some provisions from Nabal, a rich man with a churlish disposition. Abigail, Nabal's wife, learning that Nabal had refused to countenance the request of David's messengers, knew well enough that David would seek revenge, so she made up a fine present of food stuffs and went out to meet the enraged David

on his approach to their place. She explained the circumstances, appealed to David's sense of justice and saner instincts, and saved not only their property but David from the curse of blood revenge. Nabal soon died and Abigail became David's wife. She praised him, recognized his abilities, and seemed to appeal to the best that was in him. Abigail was described as "a woman of good understanding and of a beautiful countenance."

At the instigation of Joab, a wise woman of Tekoa in the guise of a mourner pleaded for the return of an only son, working on David's sympathy until he insisted that the son should be restored; whereupon she revealed that the son was David's own Absalom, who should be returned to his father's house.

At the time when there was strife between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah Sheba led a revolt against David. This called forth an order from David for his soldiery to crush the uprising forces. They pursued Sheba to the city of Abel and began to besiege the city and to tear down its walls. A wise woman from out of the city, hearing the disturbance, went to Joab, a commander of the forces, to ascertain what the trouble was all about. "I am of them that are peaceable and faithful in Israel," said she; "thou seekest to destroy a city and a mother in Israel: why wilt thou swallow up the inheritance of Jehovah?" Joab replied that it was not his intention to destroy the city, but he was after the rebellious Sheba, and if he could only get his head he would be satisfied. Then in her wisdom the woman went to all the people. Sheba's head was thrown over the wall to Joab and the city was saved.

All of these stories, bringing out the capabilities in these women, reveal the fact that, in the homes of the wealthy and of the ruling classes at least, the favorite women were held in a certain measure of esteem and exerted a strong influence over the men that was something more than sex attraction. There were signs of respect for the mental ability and spiritual quality of these women, who were, no doubt, exceptional. The average woman, the slave and the concubine, remained in about the same position that she occupied in the ninth and eighth centuries. But there was a development going on. More and more, it would

seem, women were expected to take an interest, but not a share, in the large affairs of the tribe or nation.

It seemed quite the customary thing for women to make public rejoicing with dancing and singing at the triumphant return of their men from battle. Women served at the door of the tent of meeting. Women as well as men participated in the celebration of the national holidays. There were singing choruses of women as well as of men. If man or woman transgressed the law of Jehovah, to go after other gods or any form of nature worship, at the testimony of three witnesses they were to be stoned to death. It was a part of the religious rites of the native inhabitants of Canaan to burn their sons and daughters in the fire to their gods. In the Deuteronomic law, written in the seventh century, this was forbidden the Israelites. No father was to make his daughter pass through the fire, use any form of divination, be an enchanter, a sorcerer, a charmer, a consulter with familiar spirits, a wizard or necromancer, for these were abominations unto Jehovah.

When men went out to battle the officers were to see to it that those men who had betrothed wives and had not yet taken them should return to their wives-to-be.

Men and women were not to wear each other's apparel.

If two brothers lived together and one of them died, the remaining brother was to take the wife and raise a family to carry on his brother's name; if he refused to do this on the ground that he did not like the woman, she was to report him to the elders, who were to summon the recalcitrant brother, and if he insisted that he did not want to take her she had the privilege of spitting in his face and of loosening his shoes from his feet. This practice was referred to in Ruth 4. 7 as being "the custom in former time in Israel." Ruth was written in the middle of the fifth century. Only here in Ruth, Boaz, the kinsman, is willing to assume the obligation in the case of Ruth, and the loosening of the shoe of the nearer kinsman in the presence of the elders and of the people is the attestation of the transaction.

Offenders against the laws of soical purity were punishable by death regardless of sex. Certain laws were made safeguarding

the woman in sexual relationships. Men could divorce their wives, but the wives seemed not to have had that privilege. A man taking a new wife was to stay at home a year to make things pleasant for her. Deut. 24. 5. Family purity was strictly enjoined. If these laws were disobeyed great confusion was to follow and their sons and daughters would be given to another people. This would mean virtually national ruin. When the prophets wished to speak of the great depths of degradation to which the nation had fallen in idolatrous practices they repeatedly, and almost without exception, turned to the figure of the prostitute and all her attendant evils.

Thus Jeremiah spoke of the unfaithfulness to Jehovah of the two sisters, Israel and Judah. They had played the harlot. For her gross sin the comely and delicate one, the daughter of Zion, must be cut off. The voice of mirth and of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride were to cease from the land, for the land should become a waste. The sin seemed too great for Jehovah to pardon. The people had turned away from him, had built up the altars of foreign gods to burn their sons and daughters in the fire. The children gathered wood, the fathers kindled the fire and the women kneaded the dough to make cakes to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink offering unto other gods. Everyone, from the least to the greatest, was given to coveteousness and falsehood. Jerusalem, the virgin daughter of Jehovah's people, was broken with a great breach, torn with a grievous wound. The anguish of the people in the calamities that were visited upon them was that of a woman in travail.

Ezekiel proclaimed a similar message. Samaria and Jerusalem were two sisters of the same mother. The mother of Jerusalem was a Hittite. Jerusalem was lowly born, described in the figure of deserted infancy and developed into the beauty of womanhood adorned with ornaments and crowned. But she trusted in her beauty and renown and forgot Jehovah and played the harlot with Egypt and Assyria like a wife that committeth adultery. She bribed her lovers to come unto her. She was worse in her sins than Sodom or Samaria.

He likened Israel to a mother who was a lioness, and again to a mother that was like a ruined vine. Ezekiel's wife was referred to by Jahweh as "the desire of thine eyes." Ezekiel was not to weep for the death of his wife, which was a sign to Israel that they were not to weep when their sons and daughters should fall by the sword.

Lamentations asserted that "the iniquity of the daughter of my people" was greater than the sin of Sodom. Zion had become as a widow, that was great among the nations. She that was a princess among the provinces had become tributary. Among all her lovers she had none to comfort her. All her majesty had departed.

Deutero-Isaiah has a whole chapter (forty-seven), in which judgment was foretold against Babylon in the figure of a woman who had given herself over to sorceries, enchantments, and pleasures in life. Jehovah, in 42. 14, is made to speak in terms of travail: "I have long time holden my peace; I have been still and refrained myself: now will I cry out like a travailing woman; I will gasp and pant together. I will lay waste mountains and hills and dry up all their herbs; I will make the rivers islands and will dry up the pools. I will bring the blind by a way they know not. . . . I will make darkness light before them and crooked places straight. These things will I do, and I will not forsake them. They shall be turned back, they shall be utterly put to shame, that trust in graven images, that say to molten images, Ye are our gods." "Can a mother forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion upon the son of her womb? yea, these may forget, yet will not I forget thee." Isa. 49. 15.

Zechariah carried along this ray of hope and proclaimed, "Thus saith Jehovah of hosts: There shall yet dwell in the streets of Jerusalem old men and old women, every man with his staff for very age. And the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing. . . . Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion, shout, O daughter of Jerusalem, thy king cometh riding upon an ass."

The author of First and Second Kings made frequent allu-

sions to women, but they were mostly marriage references in royal families. A little maid, captive out of Israel, who waited on Naaman's wife, was instrumental in getting Naaman to go to Elisha to be healed of his leprosy.

When the book of the law was discovered the priest went to Huldah, a prophetess, for enlightenment in regard to it. Huldah declared that, according to the words of the book, evil would come to the Israelites because they had disobeyed Jehovah.

So by the end of the sixth century some progress had been made toward a higher estimation of woman, an estimation which she had won through merited achievement and worth as opportunity had offered her the chance for expression. Opportunities are God's invitations to come up higher. Because exceptional women embraced their opportunities the habit track of a new idea slowly impressed itself into the consciousness of the people's leaders and was registered in part in the laws of the land and in a growing ideal of womanhood. These women were beacon-lights showing a better way to the great mass of men and women who still clung to the old conception of woman's servile inferiority to man. Woman typified to the prophets the highest ideal and the lowest. Woman at her lowest, unfaithful to her marriage relationship, the harlot and the adulteress, was the figure to express Israel in her degradation and blackness of sin. At the same time it was Israel or Jerusalem, as "the virgin daughter of my people," that called forth the forbearing patience of Jehovah. Jehovah's desire to save was that of a parent for a child.

The fifth century saw a further development. The conception of creation found in Genesis 1 was expressed in this period. It is the P document. Here there was the dawning of the idea of the equality of the sexes. Woman as well as man was created after the likeness of God. "God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." Together they were to share in the dominion over other living creatures, together they received God's blessing. When J in his genealogies ignored the daughters, in the ninth century, P in the fifth century made frequent repetition of the phrase, "sons and daughters." In P's genealogy of the Levites the mothers

are named as well as the fathers. Exod. 6. 20. In response to the appeal of Moses in P's account men and women brought offerings for the work of the tent of meeting. The women spun cloth, and all, men and women, whose hearts made them willing brought free-will offerings for the work of Jehovah's tabernacle.

The Levitical laws of purification were the same for man and woman, but it took twice as long for a woman to be purified after the birth of a daughter as it did after the birth of a son. Laws for the purity of family life were binding upon both sexes. Punishment for impurity was the same for both sexes. Man or woman being a wizard, or having a familiar spirit, was to be stoned to death. The priests might defile themselves for the dead only for those of their own family, then it might be done for either sex. Any priest's daughter who played the harlot was to be burned by fire. A woman might make a special vow to the priest as well as a man. Either sex might take the vow of the Nazarite and be separated unto Jehovah. Everyone who was clean in the priest's household could eat of the leaven offering regardless of sex.

When the inheritance of the land was being portioned out to the different families the five daughters of Zelophehad interceded for their rights in the name of their father, who had died in the wilderness and had left no sons. Moses took the matter before Jahweh. It met with approval and the statute resulted that if a man died and left no sons his inheritance should fall to his daughters. But it was stipulated that they should marry someone in their own tribe, that the property might be kept within the tribe.

The story of Ruth was probably written about the middle of the fifth century. It is a beautiful portrayal of a woman's love for and fidelity to another woman that surpassed in its quality even the friendship of Jonathan for David. Naomi's friends made great rejoicing when a son was born to Ruth, and they said to her, "Blessed be Jehovah, who hath not left thee this day without a near kinsman, and let his name be famous in Israel. He shall be unto thee a restorer of life and a nourisher of thine old age, for thy daughter-in-law, who loveth thee, who is better

to thee than seven sons, hath borne him." The grandmother nestled the child, and the women, her neighbors, gave him the name Obed, and he was the grandfather of David. Ruth lived in the eleventh century. David, her great great-grandson, was king over all Israel in 1003 B. C. Though earlier writers spoke of the friendship of Jonathan for David they made no recognition of Ruth's love for Naomi. It was not until the fifth century that the quality of womanhood which this story depicted was appreciated sufficiently to be recognized in writing. The story had been handed down by members of the family until some gifted writer took it up and immortalized it in writing. It revealed in the fifth century an appreciation of the better qualities of womanhood which was not characteristic of the earlier writings reflecting the sentiment of their times.

The famous appreciation of the worthy woman in Proverbs probably was written in the same period. She was priceless. She had the confidence of her husband. She was a help to him all his life. She was diligent with wool and flax, in providing food and in assigning tasks to her maidens in the early morning. She had good judgment. She considered a field, bought it, and planted a vineyard in it herself. She was strong physically. She was industrious, working evenings to make articles to sell from cloth she had spun and woven herself. She was generous to the poor. She clothed her family and provided cushions of tapestry for them. Her husband was honored because of her by the elders of the land. She was strong and dignified. She was provident for the future. She talked wisely, was kind in spirit, resourceful, and not idle. She feared Jehovah. Her children and husband were proud of her and she deserved much credit. "Give her of the fruit of her hands, and let her works praise her in the gates" was the sentiment of approval.

This was an ideal of womanhood at her best, an ideal which Ruth lived up to, and others like her whose praises have remained unsung, but there was the ever-present unworthy woman who has ever been a burden for the progress of the ideal. Proverbs expressed it in 12. 4: "A worthy woman is the crown of her husband, but she that maketh ashamed is as rottenness in his

bones." The author of Proverbs had other ideas about women: "It is better to dwell in a desert land than with a contentious and fretful woman, better to dwell in a corner of the house top than with a contentious woman in a wide place." "A continual dropping in a rainy day and a contentious woman are alike. He that would restrain her restraineth the wind." There is oft-repeated advice to shun the harlot and all her deceptive wiles, for though "her lips drop honey and her mouth is smoother than oil, in the end she is bitter as wormwood, sharp as a two-edged sword. Her feet go down to death, her steps take hold on Sheol, so that she findeth not the level paths of life. Her ways are unstable and she knows it not."

In Isaiah 57, written in this period, the author made open and wide shame in sexual life the figure of Israel's idolatry. A passage in Isaiah 66 presented Zion and Jerusalem as the nursing mother whom Jehovah husbanded. This reflected a loftier conception of womanhood than was expressed in the sixth century, when the prophets so often used the figure of Jahweh as the parent of "the daughter of my people," the emphasis being on parental love for offspring rather than on the husband's love and respect for his wife. To speak of Jahweh's love for Israel in terms of a husband's love for his wife, a mother, revealed an ennobling appreciation for womanhood. The union was being lifted out of the sensual plane into the spiritual.

In the third century B. C. the period of Old Testament writings drew to a close. The attitude toward woman at this time is reflected in the book of Esther. Though exceptional women in previous writings had reached certain high-water marks of respect and appreciation where they seemed to rise above the idea of subordination, there was a strong undercurrent of opinion that the woman was still the property of the man. Queen Vashti, in the days of Ahasuerus, was expelled from the court and her place given to another because she refused to do the king's bidding. She was made a public example to the wives of the princes to impress upon them the idea that they were to do what their husbands commanded of them. That all wives, whether great or small, high or low, were to give honor to their husbands was the con-

tention. The man was to rule in his household. But there is a certain irony in this story of Esther. Jealousy, intrigue and avarice on the part of Haman were rewarded by hatred and bitter revenge back of which was woman's intensity and tribal or national custom—an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth—which ran in this case to madness and rank injustice. Queen Vashti was deposed because she exerted her own will and refused to grant the king's request for sensual pleasure when he was drunk. The king out of revenge chose Esther to be his queen. The king loved her for her beauty and she in a tactful and subtle way obtained what she wanted from the king. Esther was honored without the king's having to suffer the ignominy of having his wife lord it over him, though in reality that was just what she was doing. In this story woman's wit and intrigue were outwitting man's, though the character of the woman was not a pleasing one. But the fact that the author would write such a delineation of woman's power is a reflection of the author's attitude of respect for the influence of woman.

Looking back over the writings of the Old Testament a progress in the midst of a sameness of attitude is to be noted. The writers of Old Testament literature ascribed higher honor to womanhood than they ofttimes realized. Unconsciously, through stating facts, they revealed woman's ability to reason and on many occasions described her as having superior force of character. Even the author of that ancient document describing creation's story said more than he intended. Seeking to give woman lasting blame for the evil that was in the world, he gave her lasting fame in making her take the first great forward step in the development of the race. She was the first to exercise the gift of personality. She reasoned, she willed to know, and in so doing she discovered knowledge and a conscience; but this is a twentieth century interpretation A. D. and not the tenth century interpretation B. C.

In the epistles of the New Testament, written in the first century A. D., the attitude toward woman is on the same general level that was found in the Bible writings of the seventh and eighth centuries B. C. Paul's attitude toward woman and some

of his theology were influenced by that version of the creation story which was written in the tenth century. He was insistent that wives should be in subjection to their husbands, and in his personal letter to Timothy he gave the reason: "I desire . . . that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefastness and sobriety, not with braided hair, and gold or pearls or costly raiment; but (which becometh women professing godliness) through good works. Let a woman learn in quietness with all subjection. But I permit not a woman to teach, nor to have dominion over a man, but to be in quietness. For Adam was first formed, then Eve; and Adam was not beguiled, but the woman being beguiled hath fallen into transgression; but she shall be saved through her child bearing, if they continue in faith and love and sanctification with sobriety." 1 Tim. 2. 9-15. Paul was in bondage to that early theology, yet he struggled under it. In Christ all were on the same platform, Jew or Gentile, man or woman, bond or free. Paul saw a good deal of ability in woman. He appreciated her helpfulness to the early church and commended her for it. A number of women were mentioned in the epistles as being active workers in the church, even co-workers with Paul, as in the case of Priscilla. Some were deaconesses. Women were to keep silence in the churches; they were not to ask questions in the church, but to learn of their husbands at home.

Peter urged husbands to "give honor unto the woman as unto the weaker vessel, as being also joint-heirs of the grace of life."

In the Gospels a new spirit has breathed over the old. It is the personal influence of the Christ. Scanning the highest points of the Old Testament development of man's estimate of woman, Jesus took the highest conception reached, that of the partial equality of the sexes, and in his own spirit and attitude toward woman gave that conception its fullest meaning. In his laws of the kingdom of God he implied her share and responsibility as co-laborer with man for the bringing in of that kingdom upon earth which should be governed by the spirit of God's love and righteousness. Jesus appreciated womanhood just as he appreciated manhood, for what it was and for what it might become.

He looked into the depths of woman's soul and found there an answering sympathy to his own, and he knew that there was hope for the world. Through all the weary centuries womanhood had learned to suffer and to endure in the spirit of love and humility that souls might be born into the world; Christ gave his life that souls might be saved in the world. When the prophets wished to express great suffering and intense agony they could use no other figure than that of a woman in travail. Jesus himself used the same symbol when he tried to forewarn his disciples of the sufferings that were coming in his crucifixion, and to hearten them through that experience. "A woman when she is in travail," said he, "hath sorrow, because her hour is come; but when she is delivered of the child she remembereth no more the anguish for the joy that a man is born into the world. Ye sorrow now, but I will see you again and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no one can take away from you." John 16. 20-22.

Who, then, could better appreciate or apprehend the love and suffering of Jesus than womanhood herself, from the point of view of her soul's experience long wrought out? Woman's intuition, because through the centuries she had not been trained to reason, leaped to meet Jesus. "Whatever he says unto you, do it," was the mother's confidence in him. Womanhood was drawn to Jesus as by a magnet. There was an undercurrent of sympathy that surged from his heart to hers; though it was not possible for her to take any prominent part in activity with him such as the disciples had, because the custom and attitude of the times would not permit it. Customs would have to change, a new spirit would have to be expressed before this could be possible in any great measure. Yet all through the Gospel narrative the life of woman is interwoven with his in a close, vital way. What would Jesus's life on earth have been without the ministering comfort of women, their friendliness and their motives so often misunderstood by his disciples? The mothers bringing their little ones to him—what a bright spot in his life! Yet the disciples would not have it so. They were annoyed. Why all this trouble and waste of time over a parcel of women and children when there were those men of letters waiting with important matters for

consideration? Jesus took the occasion to emphasize the importance of the child in the Kingdom of Heaven. That talk with the woman by the well in Samaria, and her quick response to his words, "God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth"—how that must have heartened him. The keen sensibility and wit of that Syrophœnician woman who declared that even the dogs might eat of the crumbs that fell from the Master's table—what a joy and satisfaction that was to him. "Woman, great is thy faith," said he. Then in those last gray days, with the disciples around him, about the only rays of cheer he had, humanly speaking, came from woman's silent understanding. The disciples, who had been given every opportunity to know, were blind through it all. It was a woman's heart-ful devotion and sympathy that anointed him, he said, for his burial. The disciples remonstrated at the extravagance of the woman; it would have been better to have sold the oil and given to the poor. How the bluntness of the disciples must have torn his heart. Jesus understood. He knew and felt and appreciated the woman's motive. At his trial before Pilate a woman, Pilate's wife, interceded for him. "Have thou nothing to do with that righteous man" was her entreaty; Peter had denied him thrice. Women saw him crucified. They were near him as he gasped his last dying breath. They saw his body placed in the tomb. They were the first to learn of his resurrection. Two of the Gospels, Luke and Mark, assert that it was to a woman that Jesus first spoke after he had risen, and it was given to a woman to bear the joyful news to the despairing disciples. Why? Was it because woman's faith was still holding on? When the disciples saw Jesus crucified they thought all was over; they had hoped "that it was he who should have redeemed Israel." In spite of all that Jesus had told them in preparation for this event they had relinquished hope. Woman had felt the warmth of a new spirit touch her soul, she could not let it go. Prompted by love she lingered about the place where they had laid him. Could it be that something was yet to come? He who had raised Lazarus from the tomb could do as much for himself. She felt it in her soul. Her faith was rewarded. Her great emancipator lived!

He placed no limits to her sphere of activity. It was as broad as the spirit of God's wisdom and love and justice would allow, the bounds of whose limitations have not yet been realized.

Through these many centuries the Bible estimate of woman has been underestimated because the world has been slow to grasp the inner spirit of its message. The attitude toward women expressed in the tenth century B. C. is still a popular attitude. As the spirit of the moral law which Jesus taught and revealed in himself is more and more applied to life in practical ways we see its reactions upon womanhood. She is respected for what she is. She is given the freedom of a free moral being to develop her own life. She is a co-laborer with man in all that is highest and best in the affairs of the world as well as of the home; truly, in the wisdom of the Creator, a helpmeet for him.

Belinda May Briggs

THE RELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RUSSIAN SOUL

The Russian soul is a greater puzzle to the Anglo-Saxon mind than anything else pertaining to Russia. All agree, however, that the Russian nature is mystically inclined and deeply religious.

It has been observed that with an Englishman or an American the conversation sooner or later turns to the subject of sport, with a Frenchman toward women, and with a Russian, particularly the common Russian, almost invariably toward the mysteries of religion and God. Those who know the soul of the Russian people best have called them *Bogonostzy* (Godbearers) and *Bogoiskately* (Godseekers), and it is true, as Stephen Graham said, that "The Russians are always en route for some place where they may find out something about God."

In my experience as a Russian forum lecturer no topic attracted larger crowds and was debated with greater animation than that pertaining to religion. In Tzarist Russia, free public discussion of religion was prohibited by the national church, yet in spite of the vigilance of the secret police, it was impossible at any time to arrest the free discussion of religion. In the parlors of the rich and the nobility little groups gathered to listen to the philosophical expositions of religion by some intellectual or a foreigner traveling in Russia. The common folks met to talk religion in the cemeteries, in the woods and informally in the railroad stations, the market places, the public taverns, and in the humble cabins of the peasantry. On the high roads there were thousands of pilgrims tramping to visit the many sacred shrines and monasteries, and inevitably their conversation dealt with the eternal question of God, of salvation and of immortality. The Russian soul is possessed by a restless yearning for divine truth and the purpose and destiny of life. The greatest of the Russian philosophers, Vladimir Soloviev, in seeking for some fundamental principle, upon which to construct his system of society and of morals, recognizes as the peculiar psychic char-

acteristics of man (and, of course, it was the Russian whom he must have in mind) to be the sense of piety, the sense of pity and the sense of shame. The first two of these characteristics are unquestionably in strong evidence among the Russians. Holy Russia is covered with churches, sacred shrines and monasteries, and is perpetually worshiping. Every day is some kind of a Saint Day. The churches are always open and there are always people who devoutly kneel, bow and cross themselves before the richly decorated shrines and altars. In the streets men and women stop on nearly every block and piously cross themselves at the sight of an ikon, a shrine, a church or a funeral procession, and whisper their *Gospody Pomiluy* (Lord be merciful). I remember spending some weeks in a filthy prison in Russia, where I was impressed by the fervent piety of the convicts, some of whom were considered dangerous criminals. In the morning they used to kneel before the ikons and knock their heads against the floor. They always gladly attended the chapel service and sometimes spent their last kopeks to buy a candle which they devoutly lighted at the shrine of the Virgin or their patron Saint.

Interesting are the observations of Korolenko in the Siberian prisons. He tells us of a highway robber and murderer who, when brought to prison, blessed the iron handcuffs and chains which were to prevent his escape with the sign of the cross, and thus preached to his fellow-prisoners: "In the world there is sin, and in the world there is redemption. . . . God alone is without sin, but man is by nature sinful and is saved by repentance. Repentance is measured by sin, and sin is in the world. If you do not sin, you do not repent, and if you do not repent, you shall not be saved." The conclusion of this argumentation is that man must sin in order to be saved. The piety of this convict was proverbial, but it did not in the least interfere with his hideous crimes, which he committed every time he regained his liberty. The Russian, indeed, is pious, although his piety has little to do with his moral standards.

Pity is the true expression of Russian piety. Soloviev makes it the underlying principle of his sociological system. Sympathetic pity, in his opinion, collectively organized, becomes the

State. It is true, social relations in Russia are largely controlled by a conscious sense of sympathetic pity. Stephen Graham calls it the Russian idea. The Russian loves suffering and the sufferer. His Christ is always the suffering Christ. He would not recognize any other. The repentant thief at the Cross is very sympathetic to him. He actually loves the dishonest, the criminal and the vagabond. The common people have no word for criminal. They call him simply the *neschastny,* the unfortunate, and express in every way their sympathies toward him. It is interesting to note that the great Russian novelists, like Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Gorky, Korolenko, and others, devoted themselves to the study of the criminal and never condemn him, but, on the contrary, attempt to explain and defend him.

The spirit of forgiveness is closely associated with the Russian's sense of pity. I am inclined to call it the underlying principle of Russian religious sentiment. The spirit of forgiveness permeates all their social relations. It is symbolized in their social customs and the terminology of their farewell greetings.

The last Sunday before Lent is called *Proschalnoye Voskresenye,* forgiveness Sunday, when one may observe the most touching scenes of mutual forgiveness. Servants and masters bow or kneel before one another and at times with tears in their eyes ask forgiveness of one another, which, of course, is readily granted. The same custom is maintained in connection with the celebration of the Holy Communion. The communicant, before going to church, calls upon his relatives and friends and asks forgiveness of them. Once, I observed a very touching scene between a Russian captain and his orderly. The captain used to get drunk frequently and each time would badly maltreat the old orderly. He kicked him with his boots and frequently hit him in the face. The orderly, who was helpless, could only save himself by a request of transfer to some other form of service. When the transfer was granted and he was ready to leave, the captain humbly dropped his head and said: "Forgive me, Ivan!" And Ivan, the orderly, deeply moved, replied: "God is merciful. Forgive me also, your Highness." And here they embraced each other and wept.

When a Russian goes on a journey, or leaves his home to enter the army, or to be married, friends and neighbors are called to take part in the *proschalny vecher.* This expression may be transliterated as "farewell party," but literally it means "forgiveness party." And the Russian farewell greeting, *proschai,* means forgive. The Russian cannot rest in peace unless he knows that he has been forgiven for the wrongs which he may have committed knowingly or unknowingly. No other people are as ready to forgive and to forget as the Russian people. I had the unusual opportunity of living for a year among thousands of Russian prisoners of war in Austria. I was impressed with the fraternal feelings they readily showed toward their enemies who guarded them. I never noticed any sign of hatred or desire for revenge among them, but on the contrary they treated their enemies as if they were their kinsmen: fraternized with them, shared with them a parcel received from home, and readily assisted them in case of need. I know, at one instance near the front, the guard who escorted several prisoners was wounded in the arm by a stray bullet and with difficulty could carry his gun. The prisoners, moved with compassion for the wounded guard, offered to carry his gun and led the wounded man to the sanitary post where he could receive medical assistance. It never occurred to them that they had the best of opportunity to revenge themselves against a disabled enemy and take a chance to regain their own liberty.

The preaching of hatred of the enemy which disgraced many of our pulpits and the religious press during the war and which even now has not altogether subsided is utterly alien to the Russian. I have as yet to meet the Russian, whether he be a soldier, an officer or a clergyman, who has shown any real hatred to his enemies. They all regret that they were drawn into the war and they have forgiven and forgotten the wrongs which were done to them.

The spirit of forgiveness, characteristic of the Russian soul, may be explanatory of the readiness with which the Russian people accept any pacifist teachings. Tolstoy got his philosophy of non-resistance not from the New Testament; it was first suggested to him by the common people and those pilgrims whose

views on the true meaning of religion he used to hear when he met and walked with them on the high roads. Only later, when he began to formulate his philosophy, he found the corroboration of these popular ideas in the teachings of Jesus and then he accepted the sermon on the mount and the Lord's prayer as the basis of his religious philosophy.

Along with these fine, truly spiritual qualities of the Russian, he has a vivid imagination and a love for symbolism in religion. Thus, the sacred ikon and relic play a most important part in his religious life.

There are innumerable traditions of the redeeming and wonder-working power of these primitive works of sacred art. The Virgin God-Mother and Nikholas the Wonderworker are particularly popular, perhaps even more so than the ikon of the Saviour and the Apostles. Illustrative of the popularity of this sacred symbolism is a large volume, published by the Holy Synod as late as 1907, entitled: "The Glory of the God-Mother." It contains the description of 612 wonder-working ikons of the God-Mother, the places where they are to be found and the dates of their feast days. The most incredible stories are told in this volume of the wonder-working powers of these ikons, and they appeal strongly to the imagination of the common people and stimulate their desire to go on pilgrimages and visit these sacred shrines. Among the 612 wonder-working ikons of the God-Mother, there are those who, all by themselves, move from place to place, ikons where the God-Mother or the Christ-Child shed tears, bled when wounded, secreted holy ointments which were used as remedies, radiated with mysterious lights, killed assailants, frightened the enemy, cured the sick, raised the dead, stopped fires, droughts and pestilences and gave new hope and relief to many millions of conscience-stricken sinners. One of the curious things about these miraculous ikons is that not only the original image is accredited with these powers, but that the copies at times have proved to be even more effective in performing miracles than their originals.

The tombs and relics of saints are even more popular in the religious imagination of the masses. Year after year they are

being visited by thousands of devout worshipers. The strange thing about these pilgrimages is that many of these pilgrims are fully aware of the fraud and exploitation connected with the veneration of these holy places. Nevertheless they go. The enthusiasm of a mob is too contagious for an undisciplined mind. The dreariness and monotony of the village life no doubt adds a great deal to the restless desire to join a crowd and be inspired by the intense psychic atmosphere it creates.

In summing up, it appears that the religious characteristics of the Russian soul are a restless yearning and search for God and divine truth, a love for suffering and of the sufferer, an admiration and sympathy for the social outcasts, a spirit of forgiveness and a pacific resignation and non-resistance to wrong, and finally an admiration for sacred symbolism and romantic mysticism. Thus, religion with the Russian is first and foremost worship and meditation; morality has little to do with his religious life and for religious organization he has hardly any understanding.

The moral code of the Russian people developed quite independently of the religious life and practices. Social and individual relations are regulated not by law based on the decalogue, but by custom and moral standards which are expressed in their rich folklore. The great masses of the Russian people were totally ignorant of the moral teachings of the Christian Church. The Russian national church never was a preaching and a teaching church. It was, and is to-day, an institution of worship and the guardian of the mysteries of Christ, as symbolized in the sacraments and the ecclesiastical traditions. The village priest is often not much more literate than his parishioners, and therefore has neither the knowledge nor the desire to instruct his congregation in the doctrines and moral precepts of the church. Pobyedonostzeff, the former High Procurator of the Holy Synod, who practically ruled the church and the state for two generations, says:

"Our clergy teaches little and seldom. The Bible does not exist for the illiterate people. . . . In far off parts of the country the people understand absolutely nothing as to the meaning of the words of the service, not even the Lord's prayer, which is often repeated with such alterations, which destroy altogether the meaning of the prayer. And yet, in all

those primitive minds is erected, as it was in Athens, an altar to the unknown God; and they resign their life to Providence as a matter of fact."

The people's ignorance of the moral and doctrinal precepts of the church does not mean, of course, that they are immoral or have no theological ideas and standards to regulate individual and social relations. Their wealth of traditional folklore, the proverb, the parable, the riddle, the folk song, contain their theology, their code of morals, and their common law.

Lovers of Russian antiquity set out to collect this wisdom of the people and there are now published several volumes containing some ten thousand of these sayings and proverbs.[1] Scholars who analyzed these collections claim that in their totality they present nothing less than a philosophy of their religious beliefs, and of their moral code, which were tested by the experience of many past generations. In their scope they deal with every human need and interest. There are many proverbs which speak of God, but only few mention the names of Christ and the Virgin, which seems to indicate that most of the proverbs are antedating the introduction of Christianity in Russia. The duties toward rulers and the social order are quite clearly stated in the proverbs. There are also sayings pertaining to the love of country, the rights of property, the validity of contract, taxation, crime, poverty, justice, education, food and drink, and, finally, health, sickness, and death. Eminent Russian jurists[2] believe that the Russian common law had its origin in the Russian proverb. Other authorities in medicine[3] believe that many of the ancient proverbs also contain the people's knowledge of the medical art.

In transliterating some of these proverbs, particularly as they pertain to the idea of God and morals, I hope to show in the

[1] Some very good collections were made and published by I. I. Ilustrov, V. Dal, I. Snegirev, T. I. Bruslaev, B. Perogovsky and others.

[2] Among the jurists who hold these views is the Moscow Professor Gorushkin, who was the first to call attention to it. He says, "In reading the old proverbs, one finds in them truth which cannot be refuted, and one must recognize in them the spoken law. In the past they must have had the power of law. This may be proven by the fact that many of their principles are incorporated by us in the code of laws." Similar opinions are expressed by the Professors T. Moroshkin, P. Chubinsky and N. Tagancev.

[3] Thus Dr. N. T. Vysocky, Professor in Medicine, collected proverbs pertaining to health and hygiene, diseases and their remedies. He found that they contain not a few very correct observations and good advice to which any physician could subscribe to-day.

language of the people just what they believe of God and what they consider right and wrong.

"God is free and does what he pleases," "Man presupposes, but God disposes," "Man walks, but God leads," "Man for himself, but God for all." These proverbs indicate that their God is quite omnipotent and knows his own mind and the following sayings suggest that he is not indifferent to the needs of man: "God, who gave us teeth, will also give us the bread," "God gave the body, he will also give health," and "If God does not give health, the doctor cannot either." The poor, in the opinion of the people, seem to be particularly favored by God: "The rich wonder how the poor can live, but God is after the poor," "Who trusts in the Lord shall never feel despondent," "God is not poor, his mercy is not scanty," "God is not only to be feared, but to be loved," "In whom is fear is also God," "Where there is love there is also God," "Who seeks the truth is sought of God," and "Who guards the truth is rewarded by God," "Who lives pure is aided by God." Reliance on God should not however discourage self-reliance and toil: "Who guards himself is guarded of God" and "Who rises early to him God gives." Prayer is spoken of in many parables: "Who sows without prayer, shall not reap," "Commence with God, end with the Lord," "If you go to war—pray; if you go to sea—pray twice; and if you want to marry—pray thrice." There are but few proverbs which refer to Christ and then he is the symbol of suffering: "Without a cross—without a Christ," says one proverb. The church is not mentioned often, but the idea of it is spiritual: "The church is not built of logs but of (human) ribs," "Who loves the Lord also loves the church."

These few proverbs, taken from a wide range of similar sayings, are nevertheless quite comprehensive of the total range of religious ideas found in the Russian proverb. In comparing them with the Nicene creed, adhered to by the Eastern Church, it is amazing how little of it is reflected in the thinking of the common people. The word "Trinity" I found mentioned but once, and then it referred to the building of a home rather than to the nature of the Godhead: "Without the Trinity no home is built, without four corners, no cabin is constructed, and without

five sacred wafers no mass is read." The idea of God as the all-powerful and only ruler is very closely associated with the idea of the Tzar, to whom the same attributes are given. Out of 65 proverbs pertaining to the Tzar, 29 are comparisons between God and the Tzar, and a number of others between the powers of the heavens and those of the Tzar: "There is but one God and one Tzar," "God in the heavens—the Tzar on the earth," "All is in the power of God and the Tzar," "The Tzar commands, but God directs in the right path," "God knows and the Tzar," "The Tzar is terrible, but God is merciful," etc. The proverbs on the Tzar are in general not reproachful, whereas the much more numerous proverbs on the nobility, the government officials, the clergy and the military service contain but little which is complimentary to them.

The Russian proverbs make little distinction between crime and sin. They hardly ever use the word "crime"; they simply call it sin. And the criminal is the sinner, or the unfortunate. Sin in the thinking of common Russians is transgression of the law, or of that which is prohibited. "Sin is sinful through the law," is the proverbial saying, and "Where is prohibition, there is sin." That all are sinners is taken for granted. "God alone is without sin," and "As there is no fire without smoke there is no man without sin," or "As you cannot wear out a garment without spotting it, you cannot have a face that did not blush in shame." Sin is determined by action, not by thought "One does not sin with the mind, but with the will,' says one proverb. Conscience is the guardian against sin. "Sin cannot swallow you if you have any conscience." According to the proverb, poverty, misery, and drunkenness are the principal causes of sin: "Need knows no shame," "Poverty is no sin, but leads to sin," "Even the Archbishop, when hungry, steals." As sin is real and common to the Russian, so is also forgiveness. "Quarrel with sin, but be reconciled with the sinner," "For even God does not torment the forgiven sin," and "Mercy over sin is like water over fire." Thus the theology of the common people, as expressed in the proverbs, and as corroborated by practice, is reduced to this simple creed: God is powerful and good. All men are sinful. God alone is

without sin." Yet God is merciful, and he forgives, for Christ's sake, the repentant sinner.

The moral principles, as expressed in the proverbs, are predominantly social: "Altogether stupid is he who does not mingle with others," "To a united fold the wolf is not awful," and therefore solidarity of mind is necessary. Very many proverbs are teaching sociability, yet warn of the evil-minded: "The evil man is like charcoal: If it does not burn you, it blackens you"; therefore, "Keep company with the good and avoid the cunning man," "Lying down with the dog you will rise with fleas." Neighborliness, hospitality, friendship, loving kindness, humility, wisdom, patience, the tilling of the land and the simple life are the emphasized virtues expressed in the proverbs. The golden rule is found paraphrased many times. "Don't do anything you would not wish upon yourself," "Good to us and good to all, this is the lawful life."

Gossiping, slandering, coveting, flattering, avarice, and laziness are emphasized as vices. The conception of happiness, as expressed in the proverbs, has the meaning of luck, and the proverbs warn against it. They look at the hard toilsome life as a matter of course and fear happiness as a passing fancy. "Happiness is like the wolf: it deceives and then goes back to the woods." "Don't believe happiness, it rides a many-colored horse."

In recognizing and admiring the beautiful and truly Christian characteristics of the Russian soul, it would be folly to shut one's eyes to many of its dark and ugly aspects. There is perhaps no other people who can unite in their souls the spirit of godliness with the mystery of iniquity. John the Terrible is the classical illustration of the possibility of total disregard of all the moral precepts, with simultaneous apparently sincere outbursts of religious emotion. This monster, who is nevertheless honored by many Moscovites, as if they feel their kinship of souls, used to retire at times for weeks into a monastery which he had built for himself near Moscow. He rang the bell for sunrise prayer at three in the morning. During the services, which lasted seven hours, he read, chanted, and prayed with such fervor that the marks of his prostrations remained on his forehead. At dinner

he read to his attendants from books of religious instructions, yet in the intervals he went to the dungeons under the monastery to see with his own eyes his prisoners tortured, and always returned, it was observed, with a face beaming with delight.

This Tzar was, of course, an exception, but the fact remains that such anomalies are fully possible in the Russian character. It may be explained by the fact, as was shown above, that religion has had little to do with morality in Russia. The sense of duty, the categorical imperative which among the Teutonic people has been supernaturally sanctioned and is the corner-stone of their religion, does hardly exist in the religious consciousness of the Russian. The lack of supernaturally sanctioned moral control and discipline makes it possible for the Russian, when his passions are aroused, to act cruelly and ruthlessly, but usually he does it with little forethought and seldom out of motives of revenge. He simply has too little moral training and in this respect is still a barbarian. The excesses of the Revolution may thus be explained.

The great problem of future religious and moral training of Russians will be: How to conserve their beautiful innate spiritual characteristics, and at the same time subject them to moral control and discipline.

Julius F. Hecker

WESLEY, A FORERUNNER OF SOCIAL REFORM

There is reason to-day for another look at "a saint got loose in England," who combined, said the late Dr. Charles J. Little, "the finest qualities of a great preacher with the efficiency of a practical philanthropist." Our standard historians, so Augustine Birrell declared in 1899, dismissed Wesley curtly, because he put the ordinary historian out of conceit with himself. This dismissal is not now holding good, when Lecky gives 123 closely printed pages to the Methodists, when Green catches fire from Wesley's glow and is drawn back many times by the burning eyes of this spiritual protagonist, when the Cambridge Modern History keeps before us with growing surprise this new movement of the eighteenth century.

The condition of England in the eighteenth century may be seen in proper perspective through recent writers, not threshing the well-beaten straw of contemporary opinion, although it may be well at times to turn that straw over to the fresh air of modern life. As to the first half of the century Mark Pattison speaks harsh, confirmed words: "An age destitute of faith and earnestness, an age whose poetry was without insight, and whose public men were without character—a brutal age." The Cambridge Modern History fills out the picture: "The religious and social condition of the masses under the two Georges is the severest condemnation of the religious life of the period. The masses were ignorant and brutalized. Government insulted humanity by the brutal ferocity of its criminal code. A governing class intent only on pleasure or politics, a church occupied chiefly with patronage and controversy, was now to feel the force of a great religious wave which was to beat on every wall of privilege. Before the middle of the century its character was transformed. There appeared a movement headed by a mighty leader, who brought water from the rocks to make a barren land live again."

No man can plunge into this Methodist movement without swimming for all he is worth, having opportunity to see or feel

little else in the latter half of the century than the warmth of this Gulf Stream in English life. "If you want to get into the last century," says Birrell, "to feel its pulses throb beneath your fingers—ride up and down the country with the greatest force of the eighteenth century in England." The enthusiastic essayist, after saying the itinerant paid more turnpikes than any man who ever bestrode a beast, declared Wesley's life "the most amazing record of human exertion ever penned or endured," and insisted that "no man lived nearer the center than John Wesley. You cannot cut him out of our national life. No single figure influenced so many minds, no single voice touched so many hearts, no other man did such a life's work for England."

When Wesley had carried Christianity to the masses, all things began to take color from what he had done. "It was a chief part of Wesley's singular power," says President Woodrow Wilson, "that everything he touched took shape as if with a sort of institutional life. There is a deep fascination in this mystery of what one man may do to change the face of the age."

There is no mystery about the work itself. The new editor of the Journal, Dr. Curnock, tells that sections of this marvelous narrative "lift the veil from the processes by which Wesley, freely borrowing from the example and experience of others, created a scheme of church government and discipline which at the same time supplied Methodism with those social, philanthropic, and educational institutions which the nation sorely needed." In the introductory letter to the Journal, 1730, in reply to the opponents of the Holy Club, Wesley gives a series of significant questions: "Whether it does not concern all men of all conditions to imitate him, as much as they can, 'Who went about doing good'? Whether we may not do good to those who are hungry, naked, or sick? Give them a little food, clothes, or physic? Lend them small sums of money, or procure tools and materials to work with?" Thus Wesley, "the anticipator," laid the groundwork for the General Rules and all his social service.

God was preparing some better thing than servile legalism: the Methodist tasted the heavenly gift and was made partaker of the Holy Ghost. In the fine putting of Bishop McDowell, "This

Oxford scholar one night, May 24, 1738, got a taste of the new wine of religious life. He liked it. He became as a giant refreshed. Life looked better than form. He left us no worn-out wine-skins, but from his day we have known where to find the true wine of the kingdom."

Given the central force of converted Christian life, Wesley, the now radiant one, did not leave men to climb up out the mud and poverty. This "forerunner," starting on his journey toward the realization of the social ideal of Jesus, found a place in the providentially prepared religious societies. His keen eyes saw and he sought relief, facing facts and taking the initiative. The severe frost of 1740 throwing many out of work, he made three collections in one week in London and fed 150 a day. Next year he received £50, and "began laying it out the very next hour in linen, woolen, and shoes for them whom I knew to be diligent and yet in want." Members brought clothes for distribution and gave a penny a week. In two weeks he collected £200. He selected 46 volunteers and divided London into 23 divisions, appointing two to visit the sick in each division. He made trial to keep from want and idleness twelve of the poorest, and a teacher, in carding and spinning in the "society room"; then came the knitting industry for women out of business, paying the common price, and adding according to the worker's need. A bureau was opened for "out of door workers" to find employment, seven stewards transacting business two mornings a week. The spirit of the great leader breathes through his instructions: "If you cannot relieve, do not grieve, the poor. Give them soft words, if nothing else; abstain from either sour looks or harsh words. Let them be glad to come, even if they go empty away. Put yourself in the place of every poor man, and deal with them as you would God would deal with you." Curious facts in the records show how persistent was the belief among the old Methodists that their first duty was to the poor, the sick and the sinful. The penny a week in the classes in London was given for forty years to the poor.

To tide over the poor man in business Wesley (1746) devised a loan fund, raised the money, and gave the borrower £1 for three months, to be paid back in weekly installments. The loan was

increased later to £5. In 18 months 255 persons were helped. James Lackington, a cobbler, in 1775, borrowed £5 to start a second-hand book shop and in time had the largest bookstore in the world, with profits of £5,000 the year Wesley died. A savings bank for the thrifty poor was formed in Bristol and other cities. Without money in sight, Wesley leased two houses, "warm and clean," as a home for destitute widows, who ate with him and the preachers at the family table in the Foundry. For children of the poor, who were like "wild ass's colts," he opened his own house for a school of 60 children over 6 years of age, providing clothing for those who needed it, and made the noted Silas Todd teacher. In seven years Todd trained 300 boys, "who were fitted for almost any trade." As a "desperate expedient" for the moneyless sick this student of medicine opened the first free medical dispensary in 1746, and many received successful treatment, there being a skillful physician and trained pharmacist. For domestic use he wrote Primitive Physic, and the book had a run of 21 editions by 1791.

As the Christ lamp in the fisherman's hut, in Goethe's Tale of Tales, transformed its rough boards and beams into an exquisitely wrought temple of solid silver, so the heaven-glow that burned in Wesley's heart made radiant the rooms of old Foundry and the mystic lamps transfigured home and school and shop into a resplendent temple of God. A "melting pot," indeed, for all good things, was old Foundry: home for Wesley and his preachers, house of mercy for widows, school for boys, dispensary for sick, work-shop and employment bureau, loan office and savings bank, book-room and a church.

In other towns, from Bristol to Newcastle-on-the-Tyne, were agencies for good which the great forerunner called "the fruit of Methodism, copied after the institutions of the apostolic age." He began with orphan houses, and later in Dublin there was a home for the aged. When one of Wesley's critics charged Methodism with neglect of the poor, his defender, Richard Watson, could reply: "It so happens that societies for the afflicted have been instituted. In every principal town we have a society for the visiting and relieving the poor, the friendless, and sick who are

not members of our society; and great are the sums thus spent, as well as the numbers of visitors, male and female, who seek out the victims of poverty and disease, of every profession of religion, regarding only their necessities, in cellars, garrets, and other abodes of disease, contagion, and wretchedness, to minister to their wants." But Wesley could not do his visiting by proxy, nor get away from the Master's "Inasmuch," and towards the close of his career he began every New Year distributing coals and bread and clothing among the poor of the society. Five days in January, 1785, when 82 years old, he walked the streets of London begging £200, while his "feet were steeped in snow water nearly from morning till evening." He got the money and a few days' illness.

The wise founder of Methodism put first things first, for any social order that is to be permanent must be broad-based on the mind and method of Jesus Christ. "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ"—and this is as true of the social structure as it is of the fabric of the church. Bishop C. B. Brewster says that this Methodist master-builder "discerned the possibilities in associated humanity, in 'joining together,' to use his own phrase, 'those that are awakened.' His religion meant energy on behalf of men. Social regeneration by personal piety was his aim."

To say that Methodists preached and these social results came naturally in the wake of the revival, is not the full truth. "Everything arose as the occasion demanded," said Wesley himself. His practical mind, cool, keen, analytic, brought into service every good thing, small or large, and he recognized no patent on any workable plan, adopting the methods with the one test that they would do the work in hand. If a thing came second-hand, he breathed into it his own spirit and touched it with his own genius that it lived in larger life and power. He was a helper-on of other men's reforms, with a readiness to give a hand where he might not get credit, as if he would tie up everything into living relation to God. By nature conservative, he was slow to make departure from the established order; his whole system, as Dr. Winchester has pointed out, was not a scheme, but a growth; and only when necessity called did he "with quiet decision, cut what-

ever tie of tradition thwarted or fettered the work he felt called to do."

No historian, it is said, will venture to stake out the limits of movements whose most vivifying force works in the silence of the religious life, but any one may see the new strands woven into the living fiber—these three: intellectual, reformatory, and industrial. To the chief historians Wesley is more than a quickening force, for each sees the threads for social reforms pass through this weaver's hands into the looms of English life. Through him also came the simultaneous moral and intellectual awakening; "in fine," says Abel Stevens, "the trumpets of a grand moral and intellectual resurrection had sounded through the realm; the masses were rising from the dead." Wesley first touched the spirit of the people and created an appetite for knowledge. In those teeming years of the early forties, he said, "having a desire to furnish poor people with cheaper, shorter, and plainer books than any I had seen, I wrote many small tracts, generally a penny a piece; and afterward several larger. Some of these had such a sale as I never thought of." Thus Wesley discovered the million. His cheap literature was such only in form and price, for in the words of Dr. W. V. Kelley, "the quality of his literary product was as high as its circulation was extensive." His Word to a Smuggler and Word to a Swearer prompted the Lord Mayor of London to order a large quantity of papers, dissuading from profanity, to be printed and distributed to train-bands. His Tract Society was organized in 1782, a pioneer by 17 years of the Religious Tract Society; the first Bible Society was in 1779, "The Naval and Military Bible Society," with the first parcel of Bibles sent from the West Street Chapel. The Christian Library, the dream of many years, took fruit in 50 volumes, selected and abridged, with fine paper and large type, bringing to poor people the great classics and other useful books. The first systematic effort was also made by Wesley to popularize the sciences, publishing books in plain language. This vast popular market opened to literary men caused them to turn from dedicating books to the rich and to make their appeal to the million.

The hour or crisis struck and Methodism was put to the

test: the Red Flag was lurid in the coming conflagration. The revolt against Christianity, the wild social dreams of Rousseau, the revolutionary spirit that swept through France and over Europe, did not overwhelm England largely because of what Lecky called "the new and vehement religious enthusiasm which was at that very time passing through the middle and lower classes of the people. Methodism diverted into religious channels a vast volume of social discontent which in France swelled the tides that submerged church and state." England was saved from becoming a blood-drenched land chiefly through a "prepared people." The direct influence of the great preacher is finely set forth by the Cambridge Modern History, in Volume VI:

> As he (Wesley) never had the slightest fear or reserve in proclaiming his views, and as he appealed most particularly to the poor and ignorant, his influence must have contributed most powerfully toward preserving the existing frame of society, especially when the shocks of the French Revolution were already being felt. Dissenters of other kinds were inclined to favor the Revolution; from the first, Wesleyans met it with rigid hostility—an attitude of which it is difficult to exaggerate the national importance. The teaching of the one man who had really stirred the masses in the middle of the century went all toward allaying their excitement at its close, and the Duke of Wellington found no better soldiers than those that were Methodists.

The instinct of the new movement and "the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees" bestirred this spiritually minded man of the world to evangelize and moralize the United Kingdom in his own lifetime. His was the Deborah-cry, "O my soul, march on with strength." Into dark places he cast the seeds of light and "swept the dead air with an irresistible ozone." Into fierce districts he pushed his way to those that needed him most, amid rough miners almost outside the law, gave little thought to the mobbing crowd if only he could get a hearing, and his gospel found response and proved "the essential fitness for freedom of the rudest population." It was largely due to Wesley that "the great moral precedent of an appeal to conscience in a political question was first established." He almost wiped out certain forms of vice, as smuggling on the Cornish Coast, and in that England of Walpole and bribery he trained up a class—"almost the only class," says Professor Winchester—"of absolutely incor-

ruptible voters." Says the Spectator in 1899: "Assuredly the father of vigorous social reform was John Wesley."

Like the proverbial boy when something stirring is going on, Wesley was always up at the front. Against wrong of every sort, he was ready for a fight, and with sword dipped in heaven he faced many of the destructive forces of modern times: the idolatry of pleasure, the curse of distilling, gambling and social vice, smuggling and slavery, unrighteous privilege and starvation wage, the greed that thrives on the oppression of the poor. He turned his faith into deeds and his principles into laws. In contrast to Whitefield, who owned at his death 75 slaves in Georgia, Wesley declared against slavery as early as 1758, and in 1772 blazed forth against "that execrable sum of all villanies, commonly called the slave trade." Two years later he sent broadcast his Thoughts on Slavery, a book of tremendous influence. He wrote letters of congratulation to Clarkson and also gave encouragement to Howard in his crusade for prison reform. Five days before his death, writing to Wilberforce concerning "your glorious enterprise in opposing" that villany of slavery, his letter has a militant call that brings one to his feet even this day.

There was a life-long fight with intemperance. When Wesley began his ministry every sixth house in London was a grog-shop. In 1772 he wrote a long letter to Lloyd's Evening Post, reprinted in other papers throughout the country, on "The Present Scarcity of Provisions," and gave proof that half the wheat produced in the kingdom was consumed in distilling. To the question, "How can the price of wheat be reduced?" he gave answer in this fashion, "By prohibiting forever that bane of health, that destroyer of strength, of life, and of virtue, Distilling." He wrote to the prime minister, Pitt, against the duty on distilled spirits, with the loss of a life for every pound received, adding, "dead men pay no taxes." In every reform he asserted that human life was more than financial revenue. Here is the inside of the cup: religion in action against alehouses and the profanation of the Lord's Day. This "open stand" against unrighteousness, he affirmed, "is one of the noblest ways of confessing Christ in the face of his enemies."

The last half of the century, when Wesley was at his best in service and influence, was declared by Lecky to be "the most memorable in the industrial history of England." It developed from an agricultural country to become the workshop of the world. It became the leading manufacturing country, with excellent roads and a good transport service, having almost completed an admirable series of canals and improved the riverine communications. The domestic industries had come under the control of capitalism, and "the knitting frames of Nottingham and Leicester, the looms of Manchester were owned by a few masters." The manufacturing cities were mostly near the coal-fields in the north-central parts, full of factories, in which all sorts of goods were produced by machinery, "at the cost of an infinite amount of human suffering."

In these great industrial changes of the eighteenth century, the one man of the age was clearly seen by President Woodrow Wilson when he said: "In the midst of these scenes stood John Wesley. He came out of the hands of his mother with the temper of a piece of fine steel. He dealt with the spirits of other men with the unerring capacity of a man of affairs—a sort of spiritual statesman, a politician of God, speaking the policy of a kingdom unseen, but real and destined to prevail over all kingdoms else." How strong an influence indeed this first Methodist brought to bear on the labor movement! He laid himself out for this very work; that is, the centers of his parish were mining and manufacturing towns. He left almost unvisited the purely agricultural regions of England, with little attention to fashionable places of resort; even aristocratic circles were turned over to another branch of Methodism. Those among whom Wesley chiefly toiled are marked out by Dr. Riggs in this graphic sentence:

> The collier, and in general the miner, of whatever class, the foundryman, the hand-loom weaver, and, in the later years of his ministry, the water-power-loom worker; the spinner in cotton, flax or hemp; the "statesman" freeholder, especially when, as in the northern dales, he was found in the neighborhood of the lead-miner; or the small yeoman, where he neighbored, as in Cornwall, or the miner or the fisherman—these, and such as these, with the skilled artisan and day-laborer of the towns, formed the material on which Wesley chose to bestow his labors.

Into mining and manufacturing cities for half a century the great itinerant came and passed on, reappearing in nearly half a hundred towns for 30 times and more, while he records 40 visits each to Canterbury, Bolton, Chester, Salisbury, Sheffield; between 50 and 70 to Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, Newcastle-on-the-Tyne; over a hundred to Kingswood; 175 to Bristol, and 200 recorded visits to London. He sent forth his preachers to proclaim liberty to every inhabitant throughout the land, while regularly he ranged the three kingdoms and Wales, "stirring the stagnant current of human life." The Cambridge Modern History, in comparison, says, "Wherever Whitefield passed he left memories of overwhelming passion and eloquence; wherever Wesley passed he left more enduring memorials in the shape of schools, mission-rooms, meeting-places, and unions for prayer, for charity, and for self-help."

The fine strain of character developed in workingmen by Methodism has attracted such a man as Principal Fairbairn, who in Religion in History and in Modern Life pays the following tribute:

> Methodism, in its several branches, has done more for the conversion and reconciliation of certain of the industrial classes to religion than any other English church. It is but just to say that the enfranchisement of our mining and agricultural populations made this evident, that their regulative ideas were religious rather than utilitarian and secular. The politician finds when he addresses the peasantry that he has to appeal to more distinctly ethical and religious principles than when he addresses the upper or middle classes. Meanwhile it is the local preacher rather than the secularist lecturer who has, while converting the soul, really formed the mind of the miner and laborer, and who now so largely represents the ideas he seeks in his dim and inarticulate way to see applied to national policy and legislation.

The miner indeed claims to be the pioneer of the labor movement. "The miner's attachment to Methodism is of long standing," says T. R. Threlfall, Secretary of the Labor Electoral Association. "It dates from the time when Wesley discoursed to the pitmen of Northumberland and Durham, who received him with open arms. Since then Methodism has become the dominant faith of the miners. Its spiritual zeal aroused him, its democratic instincts were in keeping with his political aspirations, and its

organizing ability educated him in the principles of unity." Quick to perceive the utility of direct representation, six of these local preacher-miners were members of the House of Commons in the Parliament of 1885. At the great miners' conferences, where more than 300,000 men were represented, the names of the delegates revealed the fact that fully one half of them had served an apprenticeship as local preachers.

So Wesley, a forerunner of social reform did his work well, for he first "set man's step in the true way by the help of the great glow." Richard Watson Gilder began his poem on John Wesley with words that may pertinently close this paper:

> In those clear, piercing, piteous eyes behold
> The very soul that over England flamed!
> Deep, pure, intense; consuming shame and ill;
> Convicting men of sin; making faith live;
> And—this is the mightiest miracle of all—
> Creating God again in human hearts.

Frank Gibson Porter

A STUDY IN TRANSITION—THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

A PERIOD of transition is always one of extreme danger. It is a time of shipwreck and suffering; it calls for adjustments that are often painful; it tests loyalties and leads us to examine the fundamental bases of our convictions. In the chaos resulting from the breaking up of the old, everything worth while seems lost. New values are not appreciated before old discredited standards are laid to rest. Three attitudes usually manifest themselves. The reactionary closes his ears to the new while he shouts the old shibboleths the louder. The revolutionary sees no obstacles but the cowardice and intellectual stupidity of the ruling power. Some seek to bridge the chasm, understand the deep-lying psychological barriers to adjustment, and heal the wounds torn by inexorable forces of progress. But their path is strewn with pitfalls and obstructions.

When we recall to mind periods of economic and industrial transition we find abundant illustration. It must have taken men of far-seeing vision to view with equanimity the break-up of the old order of feudalism and the establishment of direct private ownership of landed property. No country has yet passed through the transition from home manufacture to the factory system without suffering and bitterness. We see economic transformation taking place under our eyes; women leaving their homes to take their place in factory, office and store; small businesses driven to consolidation into ever larger units; a purely individual economy threatened with the imprint of socializing forces. There are none of these changes but invoke one of the three attitudes suggested above.

Periods of political transition are no less critical. We can understand with difficulty the situation that called for the Federalist papers from Alexander Hamilton. To make the transition from thirteen colonies, struggling for their individual rights, to a united federal state was a step of faith that only the cour-

ageous could take. The world to-day faces a similar crisis. Can the advantages of completely autonomous sovereignty be safely sacrificed in the interest of a world federation? How that transition can be effected is the greatest issue facing constructive statesmanship. The most ardent advocate of the League of Nations would agree that it has not yet been solved.

But religious transition is more disturbing than any other. Our religious feelings are so much more personal; they affect our total outlook upon the world and our appreciation of values. Economic and political disturbances do not to the same extent reach the inner springs of happiness and optimism. There is no one who has genuinely thought on the problem of religion who has not passed through a period of transition. When the trust of childhood emerges into the strong faith of manhood it is tested by the blast of many winds. The spread of modern scientific knowledge has compelled the religions of the world to face the problem of adjustment. The young man whose faith has been bolstered by verbal infallibility and crass supernaturalism must pass through a very deep valley of the shadow of reconstruction. The Chinese who leaves his idols or his trust in the finality of the words of Confucius for Christianity must first pay the inevitable price of the conflict of loyalties.

These are not new problems. Religious development has at all times brought them in its wake. No more instructive example can be found than in the original transition from Judaism to Christianity when our religion lacked the prestige of 2,000 years of influence on the minds of men. How was the passage to be made from the good to the better without many falling away from the living God? That was the problem that confronted the anonymous genius who wrote a letter to a congregation of fellow Christians on the brink of uncertainty. The Epistle to the Hebrews is preeminently a study in transition. That makes it instructive for our age, for though the problems are different we can learn much from his treatment of them.

We must first characterize more exactly the nature of the transition through which the readers were passing. They could not understand why an ancient, divinely appointed religion should

be superseded by what appeared to be a novelty and an innovation. That a thing is new is to many a sufficient condemnation. Jesus himself found that difficulty: "No man having drunk old wine desireth new; for he saith, The old is good." (Luke 5. 39.) Our author must some way turn the edge of the attractiveness of venerable antiquity.

We may describe the transition again as one from a religion founded on positive successes to one founded on failure. Moses and Joshua had led the children of Israel into Canaan. The Aaronic priests did perform sacrifices that atoned for sin. But Jesus met a humiliating death upon the cross. How could the indignity of these earthly experiences be reconciled with the dignity claimed for him as Messiah and Son of God?

But preeminently the transition was from a religion with priests to one that knew no human mediation. Paul gives us two catalogues of the ministry of the church. Possibly he did not aim at completeness, but it is no accident that "priest" is omitted. For the readers this was an obvious defect. Other religions had their sacred ministers at divine altars. How could Judaism with its magnificent priesthood be supplanted by a religion with no priest at all?

Such was the transition, and our author grapples with it in all seriousness. He does not sidestep, but endeavors to meet the issue at every point. Assuredly Judaism is old, but "in that he saith, A new covenant, he hath made the first old. But that which is becoming old and waxeth aged is nigh unto vanishing away." (8. 13.) Jesus did suffer and die on the cross, but he was crowned with glory and honor thereby. (2. 9.) His blood sealed the new covenant (9. 16); through his death he became the captain of our salvation (2. 10), thus delivering men from the fear of death. (2. 14.) And do they regret the lack of priests in the new religion? Jesus is the one perfect priest under the new covenant and his death was his priestly act of self-sacrifice whereby he "perfected for ever them that are sanctified." (10. 14.)

In the development of his argument, the author summons his readers first of all to a proper evaluation of the old. This

entailed of course an appreciation of its strength. The old covenant was from God no less than the new. The author realized that his case was stronger by emphasizing the good things about the old to set in even higher relief "the better thing" which God had "provided for us." (11. 40.) The glory of Jesus does not take away from the glory of Moses; Moses was faithful in so far as it was possible for a servant to be true (3. 2); it is no reflection on Moses that Jesus is the Son in the household (3. 6); both remain in the same household. The religion that had nourished the faith of the fathers was not wholly bad. These men are rather the great examples for us.

But a candid examination of the old reveals undoubted weaknesses. Moses and Joshua led the children into an earthly Canaan, but this was not the promised rest of God. (4. 8.) That remains over for us. And the reason is not far to be sought, for the priests under the old covenant were very imperfect instruments. They were mortal men who died, and this meant discontinuity. (7. 23.) They were sinful men and so needed to offer sacrifices for themselves as well as for the people. (7. 27.) The sanctuary was magnificent, but still only a copy of the perfect heavenly tabernacle. (8. 5.) The sacrifices were imperfect, for it was impossible that the blood of goats and bulls sacrificed without moral significance could remove sin from guilty consciences. (10. 4.) The very repetition of the sacrifices implied their imperfection, for it showed that whatever benefits were derived could only be temporary. (10. 1.) But the greatest defect of all was the access which it claimed to provide to God. The sanctuary was divided into a Holy Place and a Holy of Holies and into the latter the high priest alone could go on one day of the year. He could not take others with him. The presence of the veil signified the imperfect access to God provided under the old covenant. (9. 8.) The author even goes so far as to say that "the law made nothing perfect." (7. 19.)

A proper evaluation of the past will show that the new is a continuation of the past, and not set over against it. Everything in the old is repeated, only the defects are remedied. We have a better ministry, better sacrifices, a better sanctuary, better access

to God, but the old was the shadow of the new. It stands in relation to it. There is one continuous process of revelation that has reached finality in Jesus. "God having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in a Son." (1. 1, 2.) The Old Testament is not so much the evidence of God's gracious dealings in the past as intimations of the great salvation in Christ. The author knows no stronger proof than the citation of an appropriate passage of Scripture. There is no discontinuity; on the other hand, the unfulfilled promises of the past are fulfilled in Jesus. We have in him the promised rest of God. All the old heroes of faith died not having received the promise, for apart from us they could not be made perfect. (11. 40.) But now, "a death having taken place for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first covenant, they that have been called may receive the promise of the eternal inheritance." (9. 15.) Not only is the new linked inseparably with the old, but even the ultimate salvation of the heroes of the old covenant depends upon the validity of the new covenant dedicated in the blood of Christ.

If then the new is a genuine continuation of the old, do not cast winsome glances back to the old, but take the decisive step demanded and draw near. This is the essence of the exhortations that occupy such an important place in the letter. The contrasts with Moses and Aaron are left behind. The angels through whom the Law was mediated are not to detain the attention of the readers. "For not unto angels did he subject the world to come whereof we speak." (2. 5.) Jesus suffered without the gate that he might sanctify the people through his own blood. "Let us therefore go forth unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach, for we have not here an abiding city, but we seek after the city which is to come." (13. 12-14.) Jesus having made purification for sins by the perfect offering of himself, is seated at the right hand of God and all things shall be subject unto him. "Having then a great high priest that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but one that hath been in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin, let us therefore draw

near with boldness unto the throne of grace that we may find grace to help us in time of need." (4. 14-16.)

Such is the trend of the argument which our author follows to make level the path of transition. We will always need to combine tact and daring in some such way. Two or three points in his treatment, however, should receive special notice. First, Hebrews is a splendid example of the truth that a man's intuition usually outstrips his logic. Never is this more true than in periods of change. The fact of the value of the abolition movement, of prohibition, of woman's suffrage is more convincing than the arguments often advanced. These can frequently be picked to pieces because we attempt to prove too much. Men then believe that the cause is overthrown because the arguments advanced in favor of it are successfully controverted. There is no greater illusion. Man's insight exceeds his powers of demonstration. The author of Hebrews has a great truth in the finality of the Christian revelation. To establish it he ransacks the Old Testament for intimations of the new order; he drags in the mythical figure of Melchizedek to enhance the glory of the personality of Jesus, the Master of men; he makes a high priest of the man who saved the world from priestly mediation. His arguments would have had greater weight with his first readers, but we cannot believe that they were entirely convincing according to any logical standards. We are not so sure that they were "dull of hearing" for not comprehending his exposition at once. We will not belittle the book for that reason. Men must always advance insufficient arguments to support the great certainties of experience. Just because our opponents may show the weakness of our proof we need not therefore falter. It is an inevitable accompaniment of a period of transition. New truth will rebuild the lives of men while logicians are still threshing over the old straw. But man can never cease to seek a rational foundation for his faith. We admire the author of Hebrews for his attempt; we will make our own for this day; incompleteness cannot dismay us.

The readers of Hebrews were evidently suffering for their new faith. That made the transition doubly difficult; but men always are called upon to suffer for new truth. In former days

they had endured a great "conflict of sufferings." (10. 32.) Now again the sufferings of Jesus are set before them as the supreme example which they are called upon to follow. He "learned obedience by the things which he suffered" and was perfected thereby that he might become the "author of our salvation." (2. 10.) Their chastening is a mark of the fact that they are sons, for true fathers do not show their love toward their children by making life easy for them. Suffering is trying at the time, but it yields the fruit of righteousness. (12. 4-11.) It is not to be shunned. Jesus endured for the joy of the service to men that was set before him. (12. 2.) Every man who suffers for the truth can be partaker in that joy. We are mindful these days of the truth that we are often called upon to suffer for a cause. But we must not fail to apply it to the problems of religious transition. It entails suffering for the Chinese lad to accept Christianity in the face of the misunderstanding and opposition of parents bound by lives of superstition. Mental anguish is never spared the sincere young man or woman in college who is led by his new light to wider views of the Bible and the Christian faith, when he knows that to a fond mother or father at home it may seem like a departure from the old faith. The fact that there is genuine continuity with the old never saves us from suffering. But this must not shake our conviction that we have for ourselves a "better possession and an abiding one." (10. 34.)

Finally, faith alone meets the test of transition. The author exclaims with confidence, "We are not of them that shrink back unto perdition; but of them that have faith unto the saving of the soul." (10. 39.) But behind his confidence we can read the fear that lingers in his mind. Why does he follow with a long recital of the wonder-working power of faith in the lives of the heroes of old? It was because they did need the exhortation, "Be ye not sluggish, but imitators of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises." (6. 12.) "Wherefore lift up the hands that hang down, and the palsied knees; and make straight paths for your feet, that that which is lame be not turned out of the way, but rather be healed." (12. 12, 13.) Faith does not mean

for him a mystical union with Christ or religious receptivity as with Paul. It is obviously not synonymous with a body of doctrine, as with many to-day. Faith is hope in the future and the partial inward possession of its blessings in the present. It is "our title-deed to things hoped for, a conviction of things not seen." (11. 1.) Abraham was the typical man of faith, who obeyed when he was called "to go unto a place which he was to receive for an inheritance, and he went out not knowing whither he went . . . for he looked for the city which hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God." (11. 8, 10.) Thus it is with every man of faith. He leaves the assured and the old, but only because there is a divine compulsion of the truth within him. He cannot see his way completely, but he has seen enough to be convinced that it leads to a city with foundations more secure than that which he has left, and that God is truly there. Only the man of faith can make transitions. He alone finds the better because he has made the adventure to leave the old. When ancient edifices collapse, his assurance does not sink with them, for he has entered within the veil with Jesus, "the same yesterday, to-day, and forever." (13. 8.) For "this word . . . signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that have been made, that those things which are not shaken may remain. Wherefore receiving a kingdom that cannot be shaken, let us have grace, whereby we may offer service well-pleasing to God with reverence and awe." (12. 27, 28.)

Clarence T. Craig.

THE SOCIAL GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JOHN

Is John's Gospel a story of the life of Jesus? Or is it John's story of what Jesus meant to John's life? The contrasts between the Synoptic and the Johannine Scriptures are more than those of literary style and subject-matter. Most significant is the contrast in the characterization of the Christ. Not only his acts and words, but he himself seems different. Perhaps the modern way of expressing that apparent difference would be to say that the Synoptics present a Christ of social service, John a Christ of spiritual revelation.

Is the contrast real? If so, can it be reconciled in a more comprehensive harmony? Certain it is that in passing from the third Gospel into the fourth we find ourselves in a new and super-earthly realm. The other Gospels took us to Galilee, this to glory. Can such a supernal realm have any place for the ordinary social concerns, the economic, the domestic, the festal, the political? In Matthew we read of "daily bread," in John of "the bread of life"—have they anything to do with each other? If not then the fourth Gospel must be the gospel, the others at best mere introduction. In that case, also, "social gospel" would be mere irrelevance and our only concern with this world of men would be to get safely out of it. But if the Gospels severally are one with the common gospel, and at one with one another, then the unearthliness of the fourth Gospel must mean surely that the social gospel has been uplifted to heavenly altitudes, that the earthly gospel has an unearthly validation.

Accordingly the fourth Gospel is either the least social or the most social of the four. Which is it? For answer we may study four groupings of passages from the Gospel and the Epistles of John, each grouping to present a prime spiritual principle which will also prove to be no less a prime social principle—namely (1) Emancipation, (2) Incarnation, (3) Brotherhood, (4) Regeneration."

1. Emancipation

The problem of emancipation, spiritual and social, is—How to deliver man from oppression and exploitation?

John 6. 15: "Jesus therefore perceiving that they were about to come and take him by force, to make him king, withdrew again into the mountain himself alone." (1) Why did he not permit them to make him king? Could he not have been more effective if possessing regal powers? Possibly, not probably, their proposed insurrection could have succeeded humanly, or perhaps he might have used miracles to compel military success. On such unlikely suppositions, we may further suppose that with the authority and potency of a political king, he could have achieved more for Palestine there and then. But we cannot suppose that thus he could have done what he has done for the world and the ages as the social emancipator of humanity, to say nothing of eternal redemption and atonement for sin. (2) Does his refusal of political kingship disparage or secularize the holding of political office or the exercise of political functions by his disciples? Rather does this incident mean that his disciples, through the ages of time, must do everything which the spirit and precept of Jesus indicate and which he did not have time to do in three years of time. He refused to set his people free politically by accepting the elective kingship of a democracy, not because their freedom or their election was lacking in moral worth, but for lack of time; just as he lacked time for a thousand other good things because he had barely time for the one best thing. He will none the less, now as ever, be king indeed wherever his people faithfully practice political democracy in his name.

John 8. 32: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." If those Jews had achieved political freedom through his leadership, what would they still have lacked? The new nations "emancipated" by the World War afford the visible answer. How far are they from the ultimate emancipation? How far are we? As far as they, or we, are from the truth. His words do not mean that he disapproved the political emancipation of his people, but that he had a larger emancipation in hand,

and still has—one which is not only to take the external burdens off society, but to impart the internal potencies which make liberty positive and real—which can, by his grace, raise Poland, for instance, to America's level, and some day make America truly a Christian commonwealth.

John 2. 13-22: This passage is the blood-stirring story of his cleansing of the temple. The evil which he attacked was a sacrilege, indeed, but it was also a flagrant case of graft and exploitation, and by his own words we understand that it was in the latter character, as well as the former, that his hand was lifted against it. In this case his course was doubly exceptional; first, it was the sole occasion in which he undertook a concrete reform of the then existing social order; second, it was the sole occasion on which he used physical force. Why the exception? Was it not to take security in advance that his usual methods of sweet reasonableness and winsome beneficence should not be so misinterpreted as to exclude social reforms, and even the emergency use of force, from the program of his kingdom?

The Johannine doctrine of emancipation may thus be summarized: 1. Political revolution is not the truest emancipation. 2. The truest emancipation is the truth and therefore is spiritual. 3. Nevertheless specific social reforms are Christian and must be enforced by Christians.

2. Incarnation

The distinctive Johannine doctrine of incarnation can be accurately formulated in social terms, thus: the true embodiment of the divine is human nature, human fellowship, and human service.

John 13. 1-15: "Now before the feast of the passover Jesus, knowing that the hour was come that he should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them to the end. . . . Then he poureth water into the basin, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded. . . . Jesus saith . . . If I, then, the Lord and the Master, have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet. For I have given you

an example that ye should do as I have done to you." That was an unmistakable identification of deity, dominion and democracy. How truly it parallels the great synoptic charter of democracy: "Ye know the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them. . . . Not so shall it be among you, but whosoever would become great among you shall be your servant; and whosoever would be first among you shall be your bond-servant: even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." In the narrative of John's thirteenth chapter, Jesus was not establishing a ceremony. He was asserting the prime principles of Christian society: (1) the true fellowship which even death cannot break (verse 3); (2) the divineness of service (verse 14); (3) the social standard, namely, to follow, not imitate, his example (verse 15). Scott Lidgett truly says: "The sign of the feet-washing sums up the whole meaning of his life and death. The lowliest ministry is carried out under the sense of exaltation and is made the emblem of true life, not only in himself, but in his disciples."

John 1. 14: "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the begotten from the Father." Note what this tells us about God. First, God became human. Second, he became a member of human society, "dwelt among us." Always recognized as the greatest words of theology, these are surely the greatest words of sociology also. With this verse alone, the fourth Gospel would still be the most social of the Gospels.

John 2. 1-11: Here we have the kindly story of the Cana wedding. With plainness unmistakable and dignity supernal, this passage, added to the one foregoing, means that God himself attends village banquets and contributes to good cheer of rustic guests.

John 6. 1-14: In the story of the miracle-bread in the wilderness, again at a rural picnic, as at the village wedding, Deity serves the common conveniences of men. Here is no contrast of "daily bread" and "heavenly bread," but their identification. Again quoting Lidgett, "This gospel, if it subordinates the physical, yet immeasurably exalts it. . . . We are forbidden

thereby harshly to sever the material from the spiritual. Hereby therefore the Gospel gives us the whole sphere of natural life for filial and social service."

John 21. 14-17: "Lovest thou me? . . . Feed my lambs . . . Feed my sheep." To love Christ is here identified with social service. Again, we have the exact Johannine parallel to the synoptic precept, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these, ye did it unto me."

1 John 4. 20: "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen cannot love God whom he hath not seen." Compare *1 John 3. 17:* "But who so hath this world's goods and beholdeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how doth the love of God abide in him?" You cannot love God without loving men. You cannot love men without serving them. It is the hand of John that unmasks the two great social hypocrisies, namely, spirituality without philanthropy, and philanthropy without service.

In summary, the Johannine formula and narrative of the incarnation alike signify that for God, Christ, and Christians religion is never bodiless spirituality but spirituality embodied always in fellowship with and service of men.

3. Brotherhood

The fourth Gospel teaches that the highest value in the sight of the Father is the true brotherhood of his children.

John 5. 1-20: In the Bethesda miracle of healing on the Sabbath, we read that humanity is more sacred than the most sacred institutions. "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath"—the social precept of the Synoptics is paralleled once more by this narrative of John. Note well of what was done and said in this passage that Jesus not only did it and said it, but that he ascribed it all to the Father: "The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do: for whatsoever thing he doeth, these doeth the Son likewise." (Verse 19.) Thus Jesus not only justifies his own deed, but declares that that deed is a sample of what God is, and that God's Father-

hood is manifested in that God himself exalts the service of men above the sanctity of ceremonies. "According to the revelation of Christ and the teaching of St. John, all social service manifests, and is inspired by the Fatherhood of God."

John 4. 1-42: In this story of the Samaritan woman we have record that Jesus attributed to essential human nature an importance not only higher than that of sacred institutions (verse 21) but higher also than racial dignity or even individual character (verse 27). To him the important fact about that woman was not that she was a Samaritan, nor even a sinner, but that she was human. In the soul-searching story of the sinful woman in the temple (*John 8. 1-11*) the like principle is again exemplified. Jesus saves this woman, not because she is good, but because she is human. In both these narratives, as nowhere in all the pre-Christian ages, the lesson is outstanding that the highest worth of a human life is in those attributes which it has in common with all humanity, even more than in those which individualize it from the rest of humanity.

1 John 3. 14: "We know that we have passed out of death into life, because we love the brethren." Love to "the brethren"? Is that all? Is this a precept of exclusiveness? Is this social-consciousness, or only "group-consciousness"? For the wider, the truly social interpretation, three considerations are asserted: (1) The disciple-brotherhood alone affords a standardized and exemplary love as a true, precious, and general asset for society; what loss to social progress if unbelievers could not have said, "See how those Christians love one another." That brotherhood, also, was a school of love and love's service which "the world" could not have given. (2) Such matured and disciplined philanthropy will, by its dynamic nature, "break out of its protective limitations" and become militant and missionary. (3) Jesus, explicitly enough and often enough, has universalized the scope of his philanthropy; as in *John 10. 16,* "Other sheep have I which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and they shall become one flock, one shepherd." Indeed, it is in John's Gospel, most often and most impressively (for instance, "John three sixteen"), that the philanthropy of

God is set forth as world philanthropy rather than ecclesiastical philanthropy.

John 17. 21-22: "The glory which thou hast given me, I have given unto them; that they may be one, even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one." Spiritual solidarity with God means social solidarity with men.

The Johannine doctrine of brotherhood may thus be summarized: (1) Humanity is intrinsically more significant than institutions, patriotism, or even individual character. (2) Christian brotherhood validates itself by service to human brotherhood. (3) Oneness with God involves oneness with men.

4. Regeneration

John 3. 3 and *5:* "Except a man be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God. . . . Except a man be born of water and of the spirit he cannot enter the kingdom of God." That kingdom is nothing else than the perfected state of human society, and so the old text plainly means that to be truly fit for human society requires God's enabling act for each soul. Here is the strictest demand ever made by social law and the brightest promise ever made by social gospel, and it is written, not by Synoptists, but by John. "Man's real life," says Lidgett, "is in the spiritual and eternal. It is exactly the failure to rise to this life which creates the most serious obstacle to social reform. . . . Thus the attainment of the spiritual is necessary in order to the triumph of the social." So the individual need and the social need are identical with the cosmic need—to "be born from above."

More distinctive of the fourth Gospel than of any other are the doctrines of Emancipation, Incarnation, Brotherhood, and Regeneration. These are distinctively the spiritual doctrines. They are distinctively the social doctrines. Is not John's Gospel supremely, incomparably, the Gospel of the Social Life?

William W. Balch

THE BOOK CONCERN IN THE COMING YEARS[1]

The Coming Years! Where is the prophet who can foretell the secret and the wonder of the sure coming days? We essay no such role. Nor is there need, for in truth these years are like to-morrow—they never come. Or rather when they come they are present, not future. If the Book Concern will each day do the thing that best meets that day's need it will be a mighty factor in all the days.

John Wesley was a prolific author and publisher. He was thinking of his own day and its need. By meeting that day's need he leavened his own time and measurably determined the character of the times that followed after. Secular historians, with remarkable unanimity, pay tribute to the molding influence of the Methodist movement on the life of England. That movement cannot be understood apart from the literature—tracts, books, papers—that it produced and circulated. The literature was varied. It was controversial, expository, hortatory, devotional, and inspirational. It made use of poetry and prose, of story and sermon. In the Pauline sense it was all things to all men. But always and in every form it was ethical and religious. Its aim was the heart and the head—right feeling and right thinking were bound to issue in right doing.

Early Methodist literature was not published primarily for profit. Its one purpose was to move men and women into righteous ways of thinking, speaking, and living. If profits came they were used mainly for the producing of more and better literature for the same high purpose. When in 1789 The Methodist Book Concern was established with a minus capital of $600 it is a safe assumption that its aims and purposes were similar to those with which Asbury had been familiar in England. There was dearth of reading matter, there was lack of knowledge due to sparse population, slow and infrequent communication. The Methodist Press set for itself the task of bringing to the remote and isolated

[1] This paper was read by the Rev. Dr. David G. Downey, Book Editor, at the one hundredth anniversary of the Western Methodist Book Concern, October 6, 1920.

homes reading matter that would be intellectually enlarging and religiously uplifting. The aims and purposes are clearly stated in our Book of Discipline, to wit: "The promotion of Christian education, the dissemination of moral and religious literature, the spread of Christianity by the publication, sale, and distribution of moral and religious literature." It was, of course, provided that the produce was to be applied for the benefit of the ministry of the church. That provision, however, was never intended to displace the primary purpose. The first and supreme purpose in the establishment of The Book Concern was the production and distribution of the type of literature above stated. Any policy that makes this secondary is not in harmony with the spirit of original Methodism.

The need for moral and religious literature was never greater than at this hour. The agency that meets this need will mold the coming years just as the Wesleyan movement in England and America changed the trends of life in its day and formed the grooves in which the life of the future flowed. The need to-day is not because of the paucity of literature, but because of the immense amount and the unethical character of much of it. The presses of the nations are running day and night, incessantly busy producing a non-moral and an irreligious literature which, if not met and vanquished, will poison the springs of life for hundreds of years. This literature is issued in cheap but attractive style. It is sold at a popular price or distributed without price. The aim is to get it read and especially to get it read by the youth of the lands. The multitudes of the poor and less fortunate are being deliberately exploited by designing men whose chief purpose is to influence class against class, and to lead the people to believe that the Church is arrayed on the side of the rich, powerful, and autocratic. To this end they use the printed page with the utmost assiduity. In many places they have copied the methods of the church and have established Sunday schools, using these schools and the Christian Sabbath for the teaching of their doctrines and the wide distribution of their anti-Christian and oft-times anti-moral propaganda. No church has a greater opportunity or a greater obligation in respect of these matters than has

the Methodist Church. In the main it is still the church of the people. From the people it sprang, out of the depths it called many of its shining lights, to the lowliest it holds out the sublimest hopes, and its chief opportunity is still to be found among the toilers, the artisans, and the tillers of the fields. In the Book Concern Methodism has an instrument and agency ready to its hand. The temptation fronting The Methodist Book Concern is the temptation to forget its primary mission. The danger is that in making a living it will lose its life. The very prosperity of the Book Concern might possibly prove its destruction. On the one hand mounting costs in material and labor make it exceedingly difficult to produce literature of any sort at a low price. On the other hand the necessity for *produce* out of which to make returns to the Conferences for the support of the retired preachers bids fair to push prices up to the point where production will be curtailed and sales reduced. Thus the original aim and the only legitimate reason for the establishment and continuance of a church publishing house is in danger of being ground between the upper and the nether millstones.

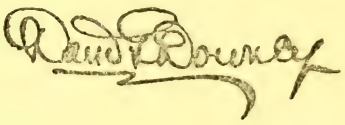
What shall we do for our retired preachers? I hear some one ask. If prices are reduced to the point where produce is a negligible quantity or where it is largely turned back into the business to make possible the issue of needed literature at less than cost, will not the preachers and their families suffer? My first answer to this query is that the heroic breed of Methodist preachers has not vanished from the earth. Faced with the alternative of a comfortable living from the Book Concern while the people perish through ignorance, error, and sin I know what their answer will be. With one voice they will cry, "Feed the people who perish for lack of knowledge. Save the nations that are in danger through the widespread dissemination of godless doctrines of life and practice." Our preachers are used to high thinking and plain living, and in these days of superlative need they will pull their belts a little tighter if need be and, like their Master, spend and be spent in the service of humanity.

But my second answer to the query is that there is no reason why any Methodist preacher should suffer. Our churches are

abundantly able to care adequately for every preacher in Methodism. Let the Book Concern be released from the necessity of contributing hundreds of thousands of dollars annually to make up the deficiency of the churches and let the churches themselves out of their abundance give sufficient for the adequate maintenance of all our preachers. Build up the general fund for our Conference Claimants, enlarge the offerings in the Annual Conferences, and increase the Conference Endowment Funds to the necessary size, and the matter will be settled. If our laymen once see the reason and the need for this they will not be found lacking, for our laity, when properly instructed, is just as heroic and sacrificial as is our ministry.

The Book Concern in the Coming Years! I see its output multiplied a thousand fold; I see its product issued at a price within the reach of the humblest toiler; I see thousands upon thousands of papers, pamphlets, books—distributed without money and without price to combat the papers, leaflets, and books similarly issued in the service of evil; and I see coming generations pronouncing words of blessing upon the institution that had the vision to see, the wisdom to plan, and the daring to do these needful things. "He that loseth his life for my sake shall save it. He that would be great among you let him be your minister, and he that would be chief let him be servant of all."[1]

[1] [We would supplement the able argument of Dr. Downey with this suggestion: The complete conversion of the Church to the ideals of Christian Stewardship will do away with all indirect methods of raising money for either pastoral support or the philanthropies of the church. Both business efficiency and strictest ethical propriety demand that all oblique objectives be made secondary in our financial enterprises.—EDITOR.]



LIBERTY OF TEACHING IN OUR SCHOOLS OF THEOLOGY[1]

Some years since the writer was in a noble church edifice of the Roman Catholic faith. The service was a "Mission to Protestants." Such themes as the infallibility of the Pope, the confessional, and other cardinal elements of the Roman Catholic faith and practice were presented with the purpose of commending them to the Protestant mind. Each evening, at the close of an address upon one of the themes discussed by a Paulist father, another Paulist father read and answered questions which he had received from Protestants.

Upon the evening of which I speak the father in charge of the question-box read a question which—to quote from memory—ran as follows: "You have invited us as Protestants to a Roman Catholic Mission; would you approve of a Roman Catholic attending a Protestant Mission?"

It seemed to me that the priest was embarrassed by the question. His manner was nervous and at first his language was confused, wholly lacking in clarity. As he went on he acquired confidence, his language became more transparent, and in closing, his answer assumed exact and clear expression, the very words of which remained indelibly impressed upon my mind. "It is proper," he said, "for a Protestant to attend a Roman Catholic Mission because a Protestant is confessedly a *seeker after truth*. It would be improper for a Roman Catholic to attend a Protestant Mission, for the Roman Catholic is not a seeker after truth; the Roman Catholic already has the truth."

As I walked home under the star-lit sky the words of the priest kept ringing in my soul, "the Protestant is a seeker after truth." I accept that definition. If I ever meet that priest again I will lift my hat to him because of that concise definition. The

[1] Selected from the manuscripts of the late William A. Wood, of New England Conference. Parts of the article, especially the last half, have been condensed, but without any real sacrifice of the tenor of the original essay. It is quite reasonable to suppose that, on mature reflection, the author would have been inclined to modify one or another point, as, for instance, the definite scheme for a periodical revision of the creed.—H. C. Sheldon.

Protestant Christian, the Methodist Protestant Christian, is a seeker after truth. We start with that premise, and use it as a basis for our conclusions.

I. Since the Methodist Christian is a seeker after truth, it follows inevitably that the teacher in our schools of theology should be a seeker after truth. Where shall he find his truth? Anywhere. Wherever there is truth, there he may go. The wide universe of God is open to him, and he may draw from any of its fields, employing such helpful means of interpretation as science and philosophy may afford to him. We can only ask that his motive should be to find the truth. Given this, and no province in earth, heaven, or hell is closed against him.

II. While the domain conceded to him is to be construed with the utmost breadth and liberality, the teacher may properly be advised not to neglect the demands of perspective. It would be a great fault for him to be absorbed in the secondary to a relative neglect of the primary and central. For him the chief source of truth will certainly be Christ. "God was in Christ." The self-revelation of God in Jesus not only illumines the central field of Christian truth, but throws its light over all subjects with which Christian truth is concerned.

III. The teacher in the Christian school, while not bound to yield unqualified deference to anything outside the central revelation in Christ, may yet be asked to take serious account of historical antecedents in the line of doctrine. The thinking of the past is of great value. Our fathers were not all fools. If they were, what are we? The net result of past research must be very great. It is now more than nineteen hundred years since Jesus appeared upon our earth. That vast stretch of time has made it possible to construct a statement of Christian truth very largely adapted to the needs of the present generation.

IV. While it follows from the foregoing paragraph that an ancestral creed deserves no little respect, the fact needs still to be strongly emphasized that a creed cannot properly be accounted a strict finality. To turn it into a strait-jacket for the theological teacher would be a grievous perversion of its function. That function is not to bind men's consciences for all time, but to give

a general statement of the consensus of Christian thinking at a given time.

A clear recognition of the fact that the creed is a living growing thing, and like all living things, subject to change, would be an immense gain. Never until this principle is recognized will proper liberty of teaching in our schools of theology be secured. Under this principle the teacher would enter upon his work with clear expectation and provision that more truth is yet to be discovered, and that increasing light may make necessary new or revised statements of truth as expressed in the creed.

It is possible it might be wise for each of the great denominations to have a permanent commission composed of its most representative thinkers, who at the expiration of specific periods—say once in fifty years—should report to the public at large what changes, if any, are desirable in the creedal statements of the denomination, such suggested changes to be adopted or rejected by the highest representative authority of the denomination. Some of the States of the American Union now have a provision in their respective constitutions, by which it is ordained that once in twenty years a convention shall be assembled to revise the existing constitution or to frame a new one. A parallel arrangement might be of great value to the church.

A commission intrusted with the given function might be provided in our own denomination by eliminating that feature of our constitution which makes change in the creed impossible. The commission, created by the General Conference, after noting the trend of Christian thinking through a long series of years, would endeavor to sum up the results and would suggest to the General Conference the changes necessary in the statement of truth which we as a denomination ought to hold. The suggested changes would then be sent down to the Annual Conferences, and, if three fourths of their members should vote in their favor, they would come up at the following General Conference for final action.

An arrangement of this sort would give the teacher in our schools of theology liberty to bring forth new statements of truth

without running the risk of being called a heretic. His research would have a chance of ultimately being received at its true value and finding a place in the creedal statement of the denomination. The discussion incident to the method might be of great value to the progress of truth in general and to our pulpit ministrations in particular, by leading us away from the shallows of petty themes into the depths of the fundamentals. It would provide for change in theological statement by evolution instead of revolution.

While the results of revolution may in the long run be good, as a method it is always bad. There ought to be some way devised by which Christianity should repair its theological statements much as engineers repair railway bridges. Piece by piece the old material is taken away and piece by piece the new is put into its place, until a new structure emerges out of the old without delaying the traffic for a single hour.

The writer vividly remembers how, when he was a student in the school of theology, an honored bishop of our church assured us with great complacency that nothing but revolution could ever change our Articles of Religion. It was evidently a matter of great joy to him that we possessed unchangeableness. Is this a cause for congratulation? Are we willing to label our Methodism *Infallibility Number Two?* It is true, that as Methodists we boast that we have never had a division on grounds of doctrine. There are clear reasons for this which we fear are not likely always to obtain. For upwards of a hundred years we have said in our Book of Discipline, "We believe that God's design in raising up the Methodist Episcopal Church in America was to evangelize the continent and spread Scriptural holiness over these lands." We have been so busy doing this great work that we have had no time for theological reconstruction. If anyone should say we will do better to remain busy in the same great work and let the restatement of Christian truth alone, my heart would incline to agree. But it is a condition, not a theory, that confronts us. We are compelled to look at things as they are, not as we would like them. Ours is a great church, and is it probable we can escape doing our share of theological reconstruction? Is it

desirable that we should escape such responsibility? May we not believe that it is in the divine order that we should have a part in the great task? A very large part of our recorded creed was archaic before it was adopted so long ago at Baltimore, and the most characteristic and distinctive doctrines of Methodism have therein no expression, indeed, no intimation. Surely it is too much to expect that our church will always remain content with our present antiquated doctrinal symbol. Change must come, and it is better that the change should come by evolution than by revolution.

Relative to the subject of the creed the following is the sum of our contentions: (1) The creed must be confined to the essentials of Christianity; (2) The function of the creed is to give a general statement of the consensus of Christian thinking at a given time; (3) An adequate provision is needed by which the creed may be changed. The second and third of these propositions have already been sufficiently illustrated. A valuable illustration of the first is given by Professor W. N. Clarke in his little book entitled, "What Shall We Think of Christianity?" Using his suggestion, and to some extent his ideas and language, I would venture to submit the following as a tentative list of the essential truths of Christianity:

1. I believe in God our Father, the personal Spirit, perfectly good, who in holy love creates, sustains, and orders all.

2. I believe in Jesus Christ our Saviour, vitally one with God and with man, the perfect revelation of God and of man, the law-giver and guide of life. Because of what he was and what he did, and because God gave him to the world, we may be saved from our sins and have eternal life.

3. I believe in the Holy Spirit our Helper, God immanent in man, working to accomplish in human hearts the results sought in the work of Christ.

4. I believe in the transforming power of the divine goodness, co-working with which all men may be made spiritual sons of God. Those who willfully refuse may not escape the just judgment of God.

5. I believe in the supremacy of love as the law of all life; the motive of God in his relation to other existence must be the motive of man in his relation to God and to all that God has made.

6. I believe in the Kingdom of God, the rule of God in the hearts of men whereby they are united into one great family and constituted a genuine brotherhood.

7. I believe in the Holy Church, the divinely ordained agency for realizing the Kingdom of God in humanity.

8. I believe in the Holy Scriptures, the unique record of the revelation of God in human life.

9. I believe in the judgment; Jesus is the judge and his spirit the standard of judgment.

10. I believe in the resurrection and in the eternal life.

It is our conviction that this list of essentials is not overstocked. Accordingly the Protestant Christian, whose heart responds to its specifications, is entitled to rate himself, not indeed in an absolute sense, but in a large relative sense, a possessor of truth as well as a seeker after truth. Still the opportunity and the obligation to go forward in the latter character are far from being canceled. Problems in long succession will keep on presenting themselves.

V. If a historic creed is not to be permitted to set fixed bounds to the theological teacher, no more is he to be placed under the constraint of an ultra cast-iron theory of biblical inspiration and authority. Not infrequently a larger function is assigned to inspiration than it can properly be regarded as having fulfilled. Its role was not primary but secondary. Divine deeds were the foremost, the fundamental factor in the consummation of the revelation. In his actual dealings God made known his ways and his purposes to his ancient people. Before a line of the Gospels was written, the substance of the New Testament revelation had already been given. It was provided in the person and the work of Jesus, and in the great fact that God gave him to the world. God showed himself in what Jesus actually was, did, and said. In the overflowings of divine life, revelation came in; and, in the life which was stimulated thereby in earnest and devout people, revelation found means of interpretation and conservation in the world. Inspiration was not indeed superfluous in biblical production; but its office was simply auxiliary. It helped to secure a worthy record of the revelation which had already been posited and become a power in elect and receptive human spirits.

In the proper order a theory of inspiration cannot determine for us the veritable character of the Bible. On the contrary, the ascertained character of the Bible, the clear vision of the incom-

parable wealth of its ethical and religious contents, must determine the legitimate theory of inspiration. In working out that theory care will need to be taken not to assign to every specific portion of the Bible the value or the virtue which belongs to its trend and outcome. The man in any wise alive to spiritual excellence may be adequately assured that God is in the Bible by the effectual way in which, through its trend and outcome, it impinges upon his life, without at the same time gaining any certificate as to the inerrancy of specific portions. Judgment on these cannot be foreclosed by the setting up of a sweeping theory. Such a theory only obtrudes gratuitous difficulties. Items contradictory to the trend and outcome of the Bible cannot by any possible expedient be given the value of revelation. The higher the formal rating which is awarded them, the greater the burden which they impose, as emphasizing so much the more the feature of self-contradiction in the Scriptures. It is the clear demand of prudence, therefore, to give the theological teacher full liberty to make such deductions as the actual contents of the Scriptures authorize. On the lesser question of the date and authorship of various books of the Bible there will obviously be even less excuse for denying to him the privilege of proceeding as the scientific investigator.

WILLIAM ANDREW WOOD.

SIGHT AND INSIGHT

A TIME of trial is one of revelation because it lays bare the hidden foundations of life. The collapse of one structure testifies to the flimsy support on which it was erected, while the survival of another is evidence that it was built on a stable bottom. Those who confessed that they had lost their faith as a result of the war really acknowledged that they had no faith. It is fancy, and not faith, that dissolves in the presence of disaster. Those who exercised the strong virtue of faith have always done so in a world of uncertainty and confusion. They kept firm in spite of the ambiguities and distractions that bowled over lesser spirits and threw them sprawling on the floor. Faith is not merely for a calm voyage but especially for tempestuous seasons. Its breakdown came in the case of those who relied on religious convention instead of religious conviction. They trusted to mere emotional appeals without the controlling direction of the reason and the will. They were inadequately nourished and so their constitution could not stand the climate of the intense heat of defeat or the frigid cold of loneliness. Of a different caliber were those who withstood and overcame because of conquering faith and not of cringing fear. Jesus endured the Cross, despising shame, because he saw the distant triumph above the present contumely. Paul discharged his ministry of reconciliation unmoved by bonds and afflictions. Recall the notables mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews, chapter eleven, and the deeds with which they were credited can be explained by their insight which gave them hindsight and foresight, so that they looked in all directions and determined their actions by long-range vision. They had the calmness of faith instead of the panic of fear and enjoyed the dynamic of courage and not the depression of consternation. They saw the garnering of their seed in the maturing of a golden harvest which they or a later generation were to gather for the welfare of the peoples. These deeds of faith, the fruits of daring, gave life an aroma that no detraction of cynic nor alarmism of coward could impoverish.

Faith is the most definite and decided of all virtues. It is "a conviction of the reality of things which we do not see." It is a spirit of allegiance to the ideal of truth, justice and duty. It is an attitude of consecration to the best and not an affirmation to be defended by argument. It is an inspiration that quickens loyalty. It is an appreciation of spiritual values which alone are ultimately valid. It is a sense of security which thinks little of safety where the interests of sanctity are involved. It is a certitude that reckons with the whole of life—of thought, feeling and will—as it bears upon the performance of every act in the name of truth, beauty and goodness. In various connections the word faith is used two hundred times in the New Testament, while this quality is mentioned under other names with remarkable frequency. Indeed, faith is synonymous with religion. Jesus set it at the center of things and magnified its possibilities of unlimited scope and influence. The Master's teaching on this subject might be illustrated from the Lord's Prayer. It is a confession of faith in God who cannot fail and who will not deviate from his settled purpose of world redemption. His practice of faith is seen in the Temptation. His supreme confidence in the Father led him to rely on the appeal of the spiritual, whereby alone the Kingdom of God can prevail over the desires of selfish ambition, spectacular display and sinister compromise. His dynamic experience of God enabled our Lord to trust the intuitions of the God-centered soul, and to find such a course substantiated by practical conclusions in deeds of opulent beneficence. Such is the vitality of faith that even if it is as small as a grain of mustard seed, it can generate results of unspeakable moment. It may begin as a faint cry in the dark, but it gradually becomes a choral voice in the light of day. It may start out as it were on a hesitating quest after the Holy Grail, that symbol of communion with God, but it pursues its journey with insistence and at last it enters the palace of the King, that abode of sacred delights and benedictions. Faith is a continuous process, from less to more and yet more, whereby God is realized, the divine life appropriated, spiritual virtues experienced, and the grace of goodness exhibited in rectitude, sympathy and love.

The consistent exhortation of the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, is, "Have faith." Such is its importance that it has been well described as the "sixth sense." How mysterious are the five senses we use from day to day, without trying to prove their reality to the satisfaction of the logician. Think of the wonder of sight which enables us to enjoy the manifold blessings of life; the marvel of hearing that brings us into contact with the benefits of society; the sense of smell that gives us pleasing odors and guards our health against rank poisons; the touch that guides us in sensitive ways; the taste that helps us to know the bitter from the sweet. So also faith is the sense of the soul which brings us into communion with God and qualifies us to make right adjustments in life. Faith gives vision to see possibilities in what appears to promise little; so William Booth produced fortunes out of the waste material of human life. Faith gives hearing; so David Livingstone obeyed the call which took him to Africa, as many another consecrated soul has gone to the uttermost parts of the earth for the redemption of the race through Christ. Faith gives speech; so Lincoln, Shaftesbury, Mazzini and others were the voice of the mute masses in industrial and social servitude, whose deliverance has been long overdue.. Well might it be said, "Without faith it is impossible to please God," nor is it possible to secure happiness of any sort. Lose faith and the bond is snapped that unites us to our fellows. Forfeit faith and we are compelled to join the ragged army of the sullen cynic and the bitter misanthrope, with whom we drift and become soured, suspicious, severe —a burden to ourselves and a bore to others.

We celebrate the victories of faith in every walk of life. All the pioneers into the undiscovered realms of thought and deed were led to achieve because they saw infinite possibilities beyond the purview of the known. Discoverers of lands across the ocean, such as Columbus, Hudson, Stanley, Peary, Nansen, followed the intuitions of their reasoning and enlarged the boundaries of the habitable world. Inventors like Watt, Fulton, Edison, performed marvels in mechanical devices with the skill of wizardry. Scientists like Darwin, Wallace, Agassiz; naturalists like Audubon, Lubbock, Burroughs; astronomers like Galileo, Halley,

Herschel, unfolded the sublime majesty, beauty and variety of creation. Philosophers like Plato, Kant, Hegel, Bowne, fathomed the depths of the human mind and its capacity to reach after infinity. Commercial magnates like Rothschild, Morgan, Harriman, developed the transactions in the business world on a gigantic scale. Reformers, missionaries, evangelists, saw the untold latencies of the soul, and their labors make us cherish the names of Wendell Phillips, William Carey, John Wesley, who represent types of a brilliant army of leaders among the sons of men. The Pilgrim Fathers braved the Atlantic and the rigors of winter to found a home for religious freedom and self-government in the New World. These were all men of faith, who were confident of the existence of unexplored fields awaiting the conquests of adventurers. They looked beneath surface appearances, behind the visible, beyond the present, and in obedience to the inner impulse, they followed the gleam and were therefore privileged to bring back from the regions beyond rich merchandise for the benefit of humanity. To be sure, they went on their quest as did Jason after the Golden Fleece in the face of many obstacles. They were not like Hamlet, skillful in spinning out theories but incompetent to work them out. Their faith made them courageously faithful. They did not surrender their ideas at the bidding of hostile prejudices. They steadfastly counted the cost and took the risks and defied the embarrassments, and thus obtained the prizes of their fortune. They were justified by faith in the sense that their ventures were indorsed by the results.

As a matter of fact, faith is essential in all the transactions of life. Society can endure only on the basis of faith. This is equally true, but in a profounder way, in the realms of the higher life. Here faith perceives the vision, perseveres in the decision, and prevails in the mission. There is a threefold direction in which faith travels. It is always a personal relationship and exercised only between persons. Just as life is maintained by correspondence with environment and death follows where it is found wanting, so the human soul, through the response of faith, continues to live and move and have its being in that sublime environment which is God. He who is able to say, "I believe

God," thereby acknowledges the object of his dependence and reliance and the source of his security. The act of self-committal implies the acceptance of the divine purpose and providence and the adjustment of the life to harmonize thereto. The surrender to God is not a form of blind, fatalistic submission, which often finds expression in passive utterances of irresponsibility. "If God wills," does not mean that he is an arbitrary despot, who might change his mind to suit a passing whim or fancy. It is rather a consistent reckoning with God as indispensable for the right conduct of all our affairs. "I planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase," wrote the apostle, who realized that God both determines and disposes all things. Our ingenuity and skill are insufficient unless God sets forward our efforts and energizes them with the divine afflatus. Without his contribution of thought, inspiration and fitness, we are destined to fail. When we further remember that the divine character has been revealed in Jesus Christ, we understand that good-will is not an anæmic quality but a passionate loyalty to One who is at once our Captain leading the forces of righteousness, our Guide directing the way uphill with certainty, our Comrade encouraging us in the toilsome struggles, our God whose worship is a service of perfect freedom. Faith in him is not flattery but fidelity, not servility but sympathy, not slavery but sonship. Prayer is not a substitute for practice but a stimulus to it. More important than offering petitions is the ability that comes through prayer to discern the latent possibilities in failure, to regard honest defeat as a species of victory, to detect the flaws which have shattered our dreams, and to determine to reconstruct out of the ruins a temple more worthy of God and of our devotion to him.

Many fail because of a lack of courageous confidence in themselves. This is due to a superficial self-knowledge which has not plumbed the hidden depths of one's personality. Tennyson rightly wrote:

> "Self-knowledge, self-reverence, self-control—
> These three alone lead life to sovereign power."

He who has faith in himself does not allow the checks of

unfavorable circumstances to militate against him, but puts forth greater energy and shows stronger endurance, despite privation and persecution, and in a spirit free from false presumption, keeps in the clearly defined path of duty, with sublime indifference to the reward, whether it be a cross or a crown. He is more deeply concerned to be loyal to the inner light, whose illumination is obtained not from the inner consciousness of the soul but from the Over-soul which is God. Those of a querulous temperament who are nervously hesitant or dubiously optimistic would do well to offer the Scotsman's prayer, "Gie us a guid conceit o' oursels." It is not self-love but self-loyalty in the presence of the supreme ideal of perfection that has equipped men to merit success. In this class we would place not only the conspicuous leaders of history but the many obscure Christ-filled souls who cared for no name at all, and who were strangers to fame, but who were persuaded that "the great deed ne'er grows small."

Since there are noble souls who are doubtful of their capacities, they need the stimulus of appreciation to find themselves and realize their highest destiny. This is the faith which has removed the conventional casements of caste, prejudice and custom, to find "the same heartbeats in every human breast." So persistent was the optimism of Jesus that he saw rich prospects in Jew and Samaritan, in Greek and Barbarian, in saint and sinner, in the elect and the outcast. The response which his insight brought out and his influence developed, transformed the fisherman Peter into an apostle, the customhouse keeper Matthew into the writer of a Gospel, the unscrupulous Zaccheus into a conscientious man, the despised Magdalene into a devoted disciple, the self-conscious John into the courageous mystic seer of the new life and the New City wherein dwelleth righteousness. A company was fighting on the Russian front and suffering for want of water. A shell from the enemy staggered them for a moment without doing any further damage. After the explosion they found that the shell had torn open the ground and released a spring of fresh water at which they quenched their thirst. Here is a parable. The war brought together men from various walks of life and they made discoveries of the opulence of human nature, which the preaching

of generations had failed to reveal. We regarded this conflagration as the prelude to the better day when men would regard each other as brothers, but the reactions since the armistice have dispelled our hopes, let us believe only temporarily. When the readjustments begin to be made, the lessons of this upheaval should not be lost to us. The Society of Friends were harshly abused because their way of the Christian life was incompatible with war. But they were not cowardly pacifists because they believed in the conquering power of love as the best solution of our tragic problems. What they carried out in the war zones is beautifully described by Professor Rufus M. Jones in his volume, "A Service of Love in War Time." This refreshing recital is so significant because those who took part in the work of relief and reconstruction were completely inspired by the Spirit of Christ. "Now that bankruptcy not only in financial credits, but in far more important assets than money, has become a fact for much of the world, a new and unsuspected value may perhaps be seen in the elemental faiths of the human heart—faith in love, in truth, in fellowship, in cooperation, and in the spirit of forgiveness and sacrifice. Now that hunger and disease and greed and post-war hate have revealed their awful and malevolent sway, possibly it may be a relief to turn away from the dark picture and to read the simple story of an attempt to practice love both with friends and enemies in the midst of the disaster and the catastrophe" (page xv). Indeed, wherever magnanimity, generosity, sympathy have been practiced, it has been by those who have resolutely accepted the standpoint of the Son of Man. That standpoint is a challenge to us. If we substitute aught else for it we shall be doomed to travel in wearisome delusions and experience heartbreaking disappointments.

Faith thus sees the best in the worst with the insight of the prophet and the poet, and its tests are made according to values and not figures. One of the difficulties of internationalism is due to our provincialism which fails to reckon with the different traditions of other nations, held by them in genuine sincerity. For instance, we cannot understand the civilization of France, unless we learn to appreciate that nation's deep respect for symbols,

which to our matter-of-fact and prosaic minds appear to be foolish sensibilities. If we ride roughshod over these reverences, we shall lose the key that opens the French heart. This is equally true of the Russian temperament, and that of every other people, Occidental and Oriental. How fatal then is the hasty spirit that perforce reaches rash and random conclusions! The patience of faith is nourished by a wide and deep knowledge of cosmopolitan life. To be sure, there are moods of depression, but no one is at his best in such circumstances. William Booth, passing through dark hours on account of his wife's fatal illness, wrote, "I am sixty years old, and for the first time during all these long years, so far as memory serves me, has God, in infinite mercy, allowed me to have any sorrow that I could not cast on him." How like Elijah under the juniper tree! But this modern prophet recovered his faith, and his latter days were filled with rich service. Who does not know of similar experiences referred to by the mystics as "the obscure night of the soul"? But the assurance of the Psalmist has also been a real blessing: "Weeping may tarry for the night, but joy cometh in the morning." Severe as the period of suffering may be, due to the perplexity and anguish of the mind, or the torturing pains of the body, or the dismay and despair of the spirit, faith is nevertheless persuaded that by the grace of God, this transition will be succeeded by a more normal condition. Such faith does not lead to resignation but to resolution, to make the best of the misadventure and misfortune, and to use them as a discipline for the perfection of life. This conclusion brings calmness to the self-possessed or rather the God-possessed spirit. Paul alone remained sober of all on board the ship, caught in the grip of the tempestuous Euraquilo, with the prospect of imminent destruction. The captain and the rest in the ship had lost their control of reason and had become panic-stricken. In this crisis, the apostle took command of the situation and brought courage to the company and directed their course to safety, in spite of discomfort and the loss of the ship. Great is the dynamic of faith and great also is the contagion of faith, caught from those who exhibit it in splendid valor. What these encouragers of humanity have done can never be appraised.

Wherever their influence has gone forth it has left rich deposits of the gold of character for the encouragement and enrichment of mankind. On the other hand, the downward pull of insincere souls is one of the tragedies of life. Faith has been grievously blunted in an atmosphere of flippant infidelity, shallow frivolity and spiritual penury.

The rationalist has censured faith because it cannot be demonstrated by his small intellectual processes. His method is superficial, for he does not reckon with the manysidedness of personality. Man is not only intellect but also feeling and will, and these are not to be considered separately but in their inter-relations. The pietist who occupies the opposite platform thinks of faith as excluding the activities of reason. He is exposed to the extremes of emotionalism and often becomes a prey to hysteria because of inability to consider dispassionately all the factors involved. Both these types suffer from impatience and show intolerance and spend themselves in fighting the air. Much of what they oppose is a phantom of the imagination, and their house cannot but collapse, for it is founded on the sand. Faith is not contrary to reason but above it and yet in accord with it. It is eminently a rational process. Those who distrust the reason forget that it and faith are the twin guides to truth. When we imprison the reason within a Chinese wall of traditionalism, we imperil the prospects of liberty. "Thinking too is a divine service," was a maxim of Hegel to be devoutly cherished. Had Newman been familiar with the history of philosophy, the career of that great preacher, which ended in a *cul de sac*, might have been different. It was his failure to understand the prerogatives of reason as a light of the divine Spirit, that led him to make more of the fear of God than the love of God, and to regard Christianity as a system and a creed rather than as life and character. There are no bounds to the investigation of truth when conducted in a spirit of reverence for beauty and goodness, wherever found. Nothing should hamper this diligent pursuit which inevitably leads to the City of God, with twelve gates open day and night, to welcome sincere pilgrims from the ends of the earth.

Faith looks at all the facts and is patient. Faith is not im-

pressed by mere appearance, and is therefore unafraid. Faith has regard for criticism and so guards against a false reverence which would withhold what is sacred from the eye of honest investigation. Faith has confidence in truth, certain that when it is passed through the fires, only the dross is lost and the gold shines with a richer luster. Faith is a vital quality, a dauntless virtue, a quickening spirit, a sympathetic ally. Think of the excited zealots who have jeopardized the welfare of people by their fanatic inquisitions and demoralizing persecutions. They believed in a God of tyranny, autocracy and irrational domination. Think of the fatalists who see no purpose in life and hold that we are under the control of fugitive powers which work in haphazard fashion. They worship the god of luck and do violence to our moral sense by paralyzing the feeling of responsibility and shattering the initiative of self-determination. This is not the same as the fatalism of the soldiers who believed in "an ultimate decency of things," for their dynamic belief far from destroying liberty of action quickened the impulses of heroism to the farthest limit of endurance. Far superior to the blindness of zeal without knowledge and of surrender without thought is the freedom of the spirit. It recognizes that we are in a world of mystery which is however not a world of unreason, and in spite of the strain of limitation rejoices in our destiny as servants of the Eternal King.

A great deal of our confusion is caused by our eagerness for quick results by short cuts. "He that believeth shall not make haste," said the statesman prophet Isaiah to his generation, suffering as it was from the half-baked policies of shortsighted leaders. They were in a turmoil of uncertainty and unreliability because they had become obsessed with side-issues. They had ignored the fundamental concern of national life, which was the honor of Jehovah God, with which was closely involved the genuine security of the nation. How like the pettiness of our partisan controversies since the armistice! The vision of world opportunity has been discarded in favor of provincial panaceas which have embittered our nation and precipitated all sorts of restlessness. In these feverish days of hysterical utterances and fanatical programs, our deepest need is for the calm spirit with

a balanced outlook, that will counteract the drifts and enable us to discharge our manifest obligations. The attitude of indifference to the world's distress is a form of selfishness which spells desolation. The mercenary attitude thinks of personal gain with inexcusable disregard to the interests of others, and reacts in spiritual emptiness. The attitude of curiosity, at once skeptical and sanguine, is that of the effete dilettante, whose ignorance is in proportion to his own moral denseness. The attitude of prejudice, allied as it is with pessimism, is an irrational confession that tradition is greater than truth, which means treason to truth. The only legitimate attitude is that expressed in the words, "not disobedient to the heavenly vision." This is the privilege of the contemplative mind which truly grasps the essential worth of faith, as the indispensable condition for holding all of life in a consistent unity and for developing the whole of life in harmonious accord with the ideal of divine perfection. Conan Doyle concludes his "History of the Great War" with a pertinent observation. His conviction is that "the final results of this great convulsion are meant to be spiritual rather than material, and that upon an enlightened recognition of this depends the future history of mankind. Not to change rival frontiers, but to mold the hearts and spirits of men—there lie the explanation and the justification of all that we have endured. The system which left seven million dead upon the fields of Europe must be rotten to the core. Time will elapse before the true message is mastered, but when that day arrives the war of 1914 may be regarded as the end of the dark ages and the start of that upward path which leads away from personal or national selfishness towards the City Beautiful upon the distant hills." (Vol. VI, p. 307f.) The historian is perfectly right. This titanic struggle was waged between faith and fatalism, between courage and consternation, between freedom and tyranny, between justice and iniquity, between heroism and heartlessness, between truth and falsehood, between light and darkness, between God and the devil. The side that ought to have won has really won. We would have lost our faith had it been otherwise.

The prophet and the apocalyptist of former days and all

noble souls of every century have always been sustained by the inspiring conviction that good must be the final goal. This quickening optimism is finely set forth by William Watson in "The Superhuman Antagonists." Ormazd the Radiant is the destined victor and His Kingdom of Benignance will finally be firmly established. The blatant threat of Ahriman, the Spirit of Ill, to "sow with dreadful largesse the long-hoarded woe" is serenely meet:

> "'And from all this,' said Ormazd, 'shall pure fruit
> Upgrow, and odorously will I transmute
> To loveliest bloom thy gifts of deadliest bane.
> For now henceforth I wax and thou dost wane,
> I broaden and thou shrinkest."

The testimony of history confirms this confidence and challenges those who believe in the victory of faith, to stay not their hand, however arduous the task, until the earth shall be "full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the seas."

Oscar L. Joseph

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

THE KING AND THE KINGS

AN ADVENT MEDITATION

MORE than the Oriental Magi were looking for some great birth of time at the period of the advent of our Lord. Only a few years previously, Virgil, in his Fourth Eclogue, had sung of a child who should bring back the age of gold. The hope of Israel had filled the world with longing and looking. In his marvelously beautiful tragedy of Herod, Stephen Phillips has made us feel

> A sense of something coming in the world,
> A crying of dead prophets from their tombs,
> A singing of dead poets from their graves.

No wonder that Herod was troubled. There is no terror to tyrants like the coming of a new order. The forces of reaction take advantage of every time of social and political unrest to scare the people because they themselves are alarmed. But there is a holy insurgency in history which is forever dooming the dominion of the regulars. The kings cower before the coming of the King. And so it is true in every age when the ever-returning Christ makes his world to pass through the furnace of transformation, that "the kings of the earth set themselves and the rulers take council against Jehovah and against his Anointed."

The kings cannot understand the King. The rulers who gather armies and build warships cannot comprehend the Prince of Peace. Herod, the friend of Antony, the ally of Augustus, the builder of cities, the maker of marble magnificences, has no kinship of spirit with the Carpenter-King who has his throne in human hearts and whose spiritual craftsmanship shall build a spiritual city outlasting all pyramids and palaces. And thus the poet has interpreted his fearful mood:

Wandering night by night
Among the people of Jerusalem,
I hear a whispering of some new King,
A child who is to sit where I am sitting,
And he shall charm and soothe, and breathe and bless;
The roaring of war shall cease upon the air,
Falling of tears and all the voices of sorrow,
And he shall take the terror from the grave;
A gentle sovereign. Ah, might there not be
Some power in gentleness that we dream not of?

The proud, passionate Idumean tyrant cannot learn that lesson; he knows no way to meet the peril to his selfish sovereignty but to trample, crush, corrupt, and kill. He is a type of that world spirit which still possesses the nations, which knows no path to power and prosperity but that opened by reeking swords and roaring cannons.

In old tradition, the wise men who came from the East were three kings, who fulfill in their adoration the prophetic word that kings should come to the brightness of his rising, falling down before him and offering gifts. Kings they may not have been in any political sense, but they were, indeed, princes in the empire of the mind. It is the prerogative of true wisdom to see the reality which forever hides behind the shows of sense.

To see the world in a grain of sand
And heaven in a wild flower,
Hold infinity in the palm of your hand
And eternity in an hour.

These visitors from the land of dawn came with the morning freshness in their souls; they had the kingliness that could recognize real royalty. When Herod slew, they offered tribute; when he was troubled, "they rejoiced with exceeding great joy." The wise man is the world's true sovereign; he can read divine meanings in the stars and see God in a little child. The true monarchs of mankind are not those who were born in the purple and whose brows bear the diadem, but the men of vision who follow the gleam of the ideal. You will always find these true kings, the supreme poets and prophets, prostrate at the cradle of the Christ. The incarnation is a stumbling block only to little minds without the sense of spiritual values.

The Babe in the Virgin's arms has given the world a new notion of kingship; more than that, he has unveiled a new vision of God.

Slaves to our senses, fooled by the pomp and glitter of external things, we needed a new measure of worth. So, when he found all chambers full, he lay down in manger-bed; when all other mansions were occupied, he moved into the carpenter shop; when all other crowns were taken, he chose a crown of thorns; when all other thrones were full, he made a cross the seat of his spiritual sway. He is still "the Revealer of hearts," "a sign to be spoken against."

> A King without regalia,
> A God without the thunder,
> A Child without the heart to play;
> Aye, a Creator rent asunder
> From his first glory, cast away
> Upon his own world.

The "wisdom which none of the rulers of this world knew" is ours, if, like the kingly Magi, we can confess the true King, and bring some worthy gift, the gold of royalty in service, the incense of worship, and the myrrh of sacrifice.

> The Kings of Orient have brought
> The treasures of the earth and sea,
> Fit presents for the King they sought;
> What offering is there left for me?
>
> I cannot bring to crown my Christ
> From far Cathay its glittering gold,
> Nor Araby's perfumes unpriced,
> Nor pearls from India's seas uprolled;
>
> Nor of the wealth that decks the mind,
> The gold of thought and fancy's flowers,
> In one fair diadem entwined,
> To fitly crown this King of ours;
>
> But I with humble shepherds come,
> With them the heralds' hymn I hear;
> O make, dear Lord, this heart thy home,
> And turn to pearl each bitter tear!

THE DIVINE DEMOCRACY

This is not a review of Bishop Francis J. McConnell's last book, Public Opinion and Theology; it is rather a mental reaction in the editor's mind after reading those vital and invigorating lectures. The worthwhile book is not one which loads the mind with ready-

made ideas for second-hand retailing, but one which starts the soul on a new adventure in the realm of thought.

Now that the world is becoming tired of kings and absolutism is well nigh dead in civil government, will it be possible any longer for us to talk about the *Kingdom* of God? Shall we not rather call it the Republic of God, as Elisha Mulford (in spite of his adherence to the Hegelian doctrine of the state) called it? Our Lord, indeed, does not use the word kingdom primarily in a political sense. His illustrations are not political, but chiefly vital and biological. The Kingdom is like leaven, seed, etc. The divine democracy of the Bible is not a Bolsheviki leveling to some proletariat standard, but the uplifting of every soul to sovereignty—until all become kings to share his scepter of royalty, and priests to swing with him the censer of perpetual intercession.

The Bible is really what Bishop McConnell audaciously calls it, a "book of rebellion and freedom." This is especially true of its prophetic element. Whenever religions becomes ethical it becomes democratic. Responsibility involves freedom. Jehovah is the Covenant-Making and Covenant-Keeping God, who at Sinai declares his law not as an arbitrary decree by the Emperor of Earth and Sky, but submits it first to a referendum. The agreed constitution of Israel, sealed by blood and confirmed by oath, is a mutual pledge of God and man. Both are bound. This is the element that separates the law of the Old Testament from that of Hammurabi or Numa. It gives us a moral God, one who is himself under obligations. Hence the prophetic protest against this popular demand for a king; the Hebrew theocracy was a democracy.

The God of Amos with his demand for social justice, the God of Hosea, heartbroken over the infidelity of his own, the God of Isaiah, the Holy One of Israel, all are differing views of the responsible God. And this God of the Covenant becomes at last the missionary God of post-exilic times, one who places himself wholly at the service of humanity, a porter who bears their burdens, and whose supreme message is at last uttered by the Suffering Servant of Jehovah, the partner of human pain and redeemer of mankind.

And so at last is answered the passionate pleading "Show us thy face," and one "in the form of a servant" reveals the hidden secret of the Father's heart. The hero God of the Cross, the Comrade God of the New Testament, the Christ-like God—his Kingdom *must* contain the element of self-determination. Public opinion is

more than a surface ripple on the sea of time, it is a tidal swell toward the stars, a plebiscite revealing not only the heart of humanity but also the human heart of God.

There is nothing of Bishop McConnell's book in this note. You will need to read it to discover the moral, social, and industrial implications of the divine democracy.

THE WOMAN'S KINGDOM

THE article in this number by Mrs. Belinda May Briggs on "The Bible Estimate of Woman" is a most comprehensive and valuable study. Even those who may not agree with the critical dating of documents will find it both informing and interesting. To that scholarly thesis, the editor of the REVIEW desires to add a hortative word for the present hour.

Never was there a nobler challenge made to heroic action than the words of Mordecai to Esther: "Who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this?" Everyone is called to a kingdom; there is no domain like duty, no sovereignty like service, no royalty like opportunity. It is an inspiring example to all true hearts, and especially to all womanhood, this stirring story of the lovely Jewish woman who at the call of a great crisis mounted from an earthly queenship in the dreamy idleness of an Oriental harem to a more glorious throne in the realm of noble daring and unselfish duty.

Every true woman is a queen. It is the tritest commonplace to say that her first and dearest kingdom is the home. Within its charmed boundaries she sits enthroned as empress, ruling by the law of love and with the scepter of service. In the market place, the shop, the fields of politics and war, man may be still supreme, but his sovereignty ends at the threshold of the home; there he must doff his crown and lay down his scepter. Over the inmost circle of our life woman rules with absolute sway.

But Christianity has enlarged the sphere of a woman's life. Jesus put new crowns upon her brow. He rolled the stone away from the sepulcher of her old subjection and in his own character exalted those virtues which the world calls feminine. To-day might well be called the woman's age. In Christian nations, and even in some pagan realms, all professions, arts, crafts, and occupations are

opening their doors to her invading armies. Life has become her keyboard; her hands strike the chords that dominate our times and that are the overture to the future. Nowhere is this more so than in America. Nowhere else do women have such largeness of liberty, such wealth of influence.

"Such a time as this!" Was there ever an age bigger with peril or opportunity? Both the political and moral maps of the world are changing. All walls are down; the crush of immemorial custom is breaking up. Is it not for such a time as this that woman has come into her kingdom? The problem of the expansion of Western civilization must be solved not by the might of militarism or the conquests of commerce, but by the sweet sovereignty of loving service. Our real victory in the awaking Orient will be won not by sending soldiers or goods, but by the creation of holy Christian homes. And this must come, not by the loss of womanly traits, as is taught by a decadent femininism, but by the contribution of womanly characteristics to every human institution. Then wifehood and motherhood will come to their true royalty. Sex, more than once in history, has meant salvation.

> "The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink
> Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free."

Service is sovereignty, selfishness is slavery. Larger privilege means larger duties. Power never means privilege; it always means debt. The women, and men also, who clamor for larger rights, need to remember that they are daring larger duties, coveting heavier burdens, and seeking the severe moral test of more awful responsibility. The true royal function is service. This is too often forgotten and place, power, and wealth are made the ministers of a mean, callous selfishness. When folks assert their right to do as they will with their own, they sin not only against brotherhood, but against the law that nobility is obligation. Those were stern words of Mordecai: "If thou holdest thy peace at this time, then will relief and deliverance arise from another place, but thou and thy father's house will perish." The heartless dancers of the Tuileries before the French Revolution ignored their suffering sisterhood of France; doom was not long delayed. Neglect is crime. God can get along without us better than we without him. Self-seeking is self-ruin. If self-preservation is the first law of nature, self-sacrifice is the first law of the Kingdom of God. Surely the American woman has come

into her kingdom at the hour of a great social crisis, to teach and exemplify the gospel of social service.

Opportunity is always with us and all may be sovereigns in the kingdom of duty. Sometimes all life seems a preparation for one great moment when out of the commonplace the heroic is born. Yet the daily task is not less imperial in its glory than such a supreme crisis. Better than a century plant, that waits a hundred years for one gorgeous bloom, are the violets whose dewy eyes open on every springtime. One royal duty we may be ever performing, that of intercession. God makes us partners of his omnipotence by the path of prayer. And we come to no arbitrary Xerxes, like Queen Esther, but to touch this merciful scepter of a loving, heavenly Father. An aëronaut has said that the voice of woman, shrill and clear, reaches upward twice as high as that of man. Are there any petitions that more surely pierce the sky and reach the heart of God than those of sister, wife, and mother?

> "O woman hearts, that keep the days of old
> In loving memory, can you stand back
> When Christ calls? Shall the Heavenly Master lack
> The serving love, which is your heart's fine gold?"

THE OLD AND THE NEW

THE abounding humor of our Lord is never more evident than when he is dealing with the absurdities of antiquated traditionalism. He himself united a true reverence for the past with enthusiasm for progress. The old life was dear to him, but the old forms which often impeded its development had for him no necessary sanctity. So he humorously pictures the attempt to unite the two by the bizarre effect of a bright patch of new cloth on a threadbare garment, or the folly of trying to preserve the active ferment of new ideas in the rigid leather bottles of effete institutions (Mark 2. 13-22).

Forms fade and die, but the substance of truth is eternal. Life is permanent, but its outward embodiment is transient. Each springtime brings a new race of flowers, yet they are as old as Eden. But last year's dead leaves, even pressed roses from Paradise, cannot be made a substitute for living blossoms.

> "The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
> And God fulfills himself in many ways
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

Every new vintage of the human spirit, or of the divine revealing, needs the flexible forms of new institutions to hold and conserve its expanding vigor of life.

The form of religion is accidental; the spirit of religion is essential. Success in growing grapes depends only partly upon the pattern of the trellises; good purple clusters of holy living and service can be found hanging upon both the Methodist and the Baptist framework. Religion has not vanished from the world because ecclesiastical systems dissolve and die. Dr. George R. Crooks once remarked to the writer: "A wise radicalism is the true conservatism." God refuses to be stereotyped; he impanels a new jury in each generation to render anew the verdict of truth and duty. Even a divine form may be temporary, so far as it is only a form. The ceremonies of Leviticus are wholly superseded by the spiritual vision of the Fourth Gospel. Even though God furnished the building plans of the ark, the most hide-bound traditionalist of today would find a Cunarder berth more comfortable and more seaworthy than that ancient craft, though it had Noah for captain and Shem for first mate. The new is as truly given by inspiration of the living God as the old patterns that the growth of life has cast aside. Though conservatism hates, and cowardice shrinks, and laziness shirks, God is ever leading his children into fresh fields of enlarging life and thought.

Bottles are a necessity, if the wine is to be saved, but the old unyielding wineskins will as surely waste the precious gift as if it had been poured out upon the ground. And this is the danger of fixed forms in religion, that they check the growth of life. Simplicity of ritual, and also of creedal statement, may be both a mark and a means of progress. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." What if the Pharisees and John the Baptist do fast? The children of the Kingdom in the gladness of the fresh evangel are more truly pious in their festal joy than the sad-faced ascetics who have not heard the wedding bells of the heavenly Bridegroom and his earthly bride.

Times of militant orthodoxy have rarely been periods of spiritual power. The Protestant Reformation with its intellectual freedom largely lost its evangelistic impulse in the dead scholasticism of the Confession builders of the seventeenth century. It was the catholic spirit of John Wesley that gave free course to the stream of salvation to "run and be glorified."

Fixed forms are frequently made the instruments of spiritual tyranny. The sacerdotal assumption of the priest that he can control

the flow of divine grace through sacramental channels, and the blatant dogmatism of the quack reformer who would subject all souls to his pet program, are two extreme poles of spiritual despotism. Much waste of precious wine of truth and inspiration has been caused by those men who have organized an ecclesiastical bottle trust and oppose the introduction of fresh wares.

In his brilliant book, Physics and Politics, Mr. Walter Bagehot shows that the first necessity of primitive culture was to acquire a "legal fiber" and a "crust of custom," but he also shows that for social progress it is very often necessary to break through that crust. There is such a thing as a worn-out goodness, a conventional morality, without vital power to purge the people of their real sins. And so it frequently happens that publicans and harlots are nearer to the kingdom than the Scribes and Pharisees. To be "hardened in goodness" may be a more fatal obstruction to salvation than those outbreaking sins which may incur greater popular reprobation. Therefore did the Master, not without sad sarcasm, say: "I have not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance."

Shall we then be conservatives or radicals? Jesus was both. He "came not to destroy the law but to fulfill," but he also came to break the yoke of legalism, burdening the heart and enslaving the conscience of mankind. We shall be genuinely his disciples if we trust the guidance of the Spirit of truth, which shall evermore lead us to new treasure-houses of the spirit where we shall find, not lost, but securely hoarded, every old truth that was worth saving.

"Our little systems have their day,
They have their day and cease to be;
They are but broken lights of thee,
But thou, O Lord, art more than they."

The coming year, 1921, ought to be epochal in history as the beginning of an era of reconstruction. The real hinderers of rebuilding this broken and bleeding planet are the reactionaries who will not let us clear the ground of the rubbish of the past and make room for the foundations of the temple of to-morrow. Not backward but forward lies the path of progress that leads to a "new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness." A new year is dawning. May its sky be clear of the clouds of the past!

HOLINESS AND HAPPINESS

THE Sermon on the Mount has been called "the Great Charter of Christ." It is, indeed, the organic law of the kingdom of heaven. As on Sinai, amid awful thunders and dazzling lightnings, Jehovah spoke the dread laws of the old covenant, so, on a gentle slope amid the flowers of Galilee, our Lord speaks the mild message of the new law. Then, by an almighty finger, it was graven in granite taken from the hills of earth; now it is to be written by the divine Spirit on the fleshy tables of the renewed heart. Then "Cursed!" were pronounced all who should disobey any of the Ten Words; now "Blessed!" is the promise of the King, who came to bless, lived to bless, died to bless, and rose to bless.

Security for "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" is claimed by our American Declaration of Independence as the chief aim of civil government. But the purpose of the kingdom of God, while it does assure eternal life and spiritual liberty, is not primarily to procure happiness to his subjects, but to create holy character and to secure happiness through holiness. Here Jesus differs from all other social reformers. What man needs, from his standpoint, is more than a new environment; he needs a new nature. Of course, the kingdom as it develops inwardly will continually express itself in outward forms and institutions, but its program is not primarily to reform the circumstances but to redeem the man. The socialism of Jesus is not that materialistic philosophy which can see none but an economic interpretation of history, but the deeper ethical explanation of human life which knows that the perfect social order can come only through the socialized man, the saved man of the kingdom.

"The kingdom of God is within you," the emphasis is everywhere placed upon the inwardness of the holy society. It is a state of the soul and not an institution. Rank in the divine government is marked not by some outward uniform, worn by its citizens and officers, but by inward adornment that only the Master can see; it is not a question of position but of disposition.

> "The heart's aye the pairt aye
> Thet makes us richt or wrang."

"As a man thinketh," not in his head, but in his heart, "so is he." The sages had already said, "Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life." And so the King reverses the popular

judgments of mankind. Rome said, "Blessed are the proud and self-assertive"; he said, "Blessed are the meek." Greece said, "Blessed are the wise of intellect"; he said, "Blessed are the poor in spirit." Israel said, "Blessed are the correct in conduct"; he said, "Blessed are the pure in heart."

The world has not yet fully accepted the mountain instruction. The mundane scheme of life still dominates the state, society and the market-place. What would really make us happy? Certainly most folks do not seek their joy in those things and qualities which Jesus pronounced "blessed." Judged by the objects of human striving, the real beatitudes in which men honestly believe are frankly secular —such as these: "Blessed are the strong, for they can have their own way. Blessed are the beautiful, for they will be much admired. Blessed are the rich, for they will get all they want. Blessed are the wise, for they will have a great deal of influence." After all these things Gentiles and Jews are alike seeking.

The Master does not even mark with his highest praise the ordinary, conventional, self-regarding virtues. He does not say, "Blessed are the honest, the brave, the truthful, the industrious." He demands a holiness that goes beyond all secular standards, that transcends all codes and precepts, that is not static, made up of fixed standards for conformity, but dynamic, a spiritual temper which is the eternal well-spring of all beneficence and blessedness. Benedictions upon the poor, the humble, the sorrowful, the hungry! for to these seemingly passive states the kingdom, which means the mastery of the external world by the inward spirit, is ever near. The rich soul is always rich, the clean soul has the clear sight, and there is no real fullness but that which comes to a life empty of all other desire but for God.

Is it really true? Is the gospel practical? Every true reading of history and life must answer "Yes." The world scheme has always broken down of its own weight; the kingdom, like the seed, has been growing while men slept. "The meek shall inherit the earth," in spite of armies and dreadnoughts. Even Nature is on the side of social and friendly organisms. She will give faster increase to mild cattle and sheep than to fierce lions and tigers; the pastures widen while the jungles narrow. The kingdom has already come in germinal life to many hearts, it is coming in growing power in the social order, it shall come in triumph to fill the heart of humanity with holiness and the life of the world with happiness.

"Theirs is the kingdom of heaven." With this keynote begins

and ends the divine octave of the beatitudes; and with these chords shall be played that symphony whose theme is holiness, whose strain swells to highest happiness, and whose divine harmonies shall some time be sung by the consenting choirs of earth and heaven.

"Our heaven must be within ourselves,
Our home and heaven the work of faith
All through this race of life that shelves
Downward to death.

"So Faith shall build the boundary wall,
And Hope shall rear the secret bower,
That both may grow magnifical
With gem and flower.

"While over all a dome must spread,
And Love shall be that dome above;
And deep foundations must be laid,
And these are Love."

THE CONQUEST OF BOOK-TOWN

Among the hero tales of Israel there is one fine story of love and war. Young Othniel, a name that means the lion of God, captures Kirjath-Sepher, and wins as a reward the hand of Achsah, daughter of Caleb the Kenite. Now, Kirjath-Sepher means Book-Town; it is also given another name, Kirjath-Sanna, the City of Instruction. These names seem to indicate that this was a shrine of the great Hittite nation, the home of a library of clay tablets like those of Nineveh, a sort of ancient university.

The capture of this city of archives and oracles is a picture of what is still possible for strong souls, for whom the City of Books still stands, awaiting their coming and offering fair reward for their daring. For there is a city of books, with its holy temples of sacred literature, its warehouses of treasured knowledge, its palaces of pleasure in poetry and art, its citadels of strength in science and philosophy. Thomas Carlyle writes: "O thou who art able to write a book, envy not him whom they call city-builder, and inexpressibly pity him whom they name conqueror or city-burner, for thou too art a builder of a wonder-working city of the mind to which all kindreds shall pilgrim."

The conquest of Book-Town does, however, involve destruction,

for this city has its slums, its haunts of evil and its palaces of sin. Books are often banes as well as blessings. There is little marvel that many in the fifteenth century confused Faust, the magician, who sold his soul to the devil, with Faust, of Mentz, one of the earliest of all printers of books. We are often led to wonder whether reading is an advantage when we note the weak and wicked stuff that many folks peruse. A bad book is a breeder of moral pestilence. Strange that people who would reject offensive odors from their nostrils and spew filthy flavors from their mouths, will still admit loathsome pictures into their minds and pernicious poison to their souls. Shall we get the water for the refreshment of the inner life from the sewers of sin, or from the fountains of Castaly and the brook of Siloah? A book may be harmful, not alone from its wickedness, but because of its worthlessness. Shall we gossip with the servants at the gate, when we might enter in and converse with the titled spiritual aristocracy of all time? We must be masters of our souls, must conquer books and not be conquered by them.

The Conquest of Book-Town involves priceless possession. It is a royal victory to become a lord in the vast empire of letters. The laureled torch-bearers of the human spirit have not been ashamed to engage in this siege. The greatest thing recorded of Alexander, the world-conqueror, is his passionate love of Homer's Illiad, which he carried in a jeweled case and placed beneath his pillow at night. Paul in prison sends for his bag of books which he had left at Troas. This inspired man, who had seen the risen Lord, visited the third heaven and faced its unutterable splendor, who himself wrote more than one third of the New Testament, yet longed for his little library! Book-Town possesses immeasurable wealth; all the long results of time are hoarded there. This is a chief distinction between the civilized man and the savage; the latter has no treasured past, the former is "heir of all the ages." Here still stand the temples of the past, untouched by the torch of time. Here dwell the spirits of the mighty dead, their faults forgotten. This empire of books is a true democracy; it welcomes all comers and grants its high fellowship to the humblest as well as the highest.

The conquest of Book-Town brings rich reward. Othniel won a good wife. Old Calmet interpreted her name, Achsah, inaccurately, as meaning the "rent veil." But his very error furnishes a significant suggestion. Surely we need the rended veil, as we stand before the mysteries of nature, history, and life. Matthew Arnold's definition of

poetry is a good definition of all literature and art, it is the "criticism of life." Great books are a continual apocalypse, revealing nature, man, and God. Letters lift the veil from the human spirit and help us to share the vision of prophets, poets, and all high-mounted souls. This comes not merely by reading books, but by conquering them; mere reading is not culture. We have not mastered the great book until it has given us its own finer vision of nature and life.

In the old Hebrew story there is a delightful human touch, where the thrifty Achsah wins from her father more than her dowry of desert-land and persuades him to add the "upper and nether springs" to her wedding gift. So may books bring into our lives a wealth beyond the power of money to command. We laugh at the bibliomaniac who sacrifices his dinner for a rare volume; it were fitter to jeer the folly of Mr. Plutus Dives, who squanders in inartistic luxury for his body what might enrich the soul beyond the power of purchase. There is many a mansion, decorated like a bric-à-brac shop, with costliest hangings on the walls and richest Persian weaves on the floors, which would be a barren desert to the hunger and thirst of the soul. What greater blessing than the love of books! The safeguard from vice, the solace of weariness, they fill the hands with treasure, the heart with pleasure, anoint their beloved as sovereigns among the sons of men, and place in their hands the scepter of power.

The conquest of Book-Town fits for the service of man. When Israel afterward cried to Jehovah for a deliverer, it was Othniel, the hero of Kirjath-Sepher, who gave peace for forty years. A book is a thing of power and the master of books is worth more because of his mastery. Not for culture alone, nor for our own gladness, must we subdue these fortresses of the mind, but that we may be better soldiers in the army of civilization, better citizens of the world, better Christians in the kingdom of God. It was a poor wise man that by his wisdom saved the city. So may our voice become a mightier voice to bless and cheer, and our hand a stronger hand to lift and help.

The Bible is the very citadel of the city of books. It is still uncaptured by most of us. As John Robinson, of Leyden, preached to the Pilgrims three centuries ago, "there is still more light to break forth from the Word of God." Shall we not go up and take it? Though grammarians, theologians, and critics bar the way, we may safely pass through them all, for there is One who leads this way to its full conquest. "The Lion of the tribe of Judah hath prevailed to open

the book and loose the seals thereof." He is the conqueror of the Book of books, and we may share his victory.

THE ARENA

IS PREACHING FUTILE?

JOHN SPARGO'S recently published diatribe against present-day pulpit-work has just enough truth in it to make any healthy preacher sore, but not enough real reason in it to make any live minister lay down his job. Mr. Spargo will have rendered a real service if by pricking the hearts of sensitive souls in the ministry, they are aroused to take counsel of his criticism and seek to vindicate the prophetic office by making it as supreme in spiritual leadership to-day as it was yesterday.

Make the sermon a message of a living personal experience to living men, base it not in shallow current thinking but in the religious mind of the ages found at its highest in Holy Scripture, give every sermon a distinct objective to win and uplift lives—and the pulpit will again become a throne of power to sway souls and rule the new day.

Mr. Spargo seems to have been unfortunate in his sampling of sermons. Probably he found most of his evidence in the public press, which features only the cheapest things that preachers say. Despite the dull platitudes that soothe to sleep many weary congregations, there is still an army of living voices that have first-hand messages from God to thrill the heart, awaken conscience and furnish heavenly electricity to cleanse the climate of the world.

More expository preaching, more prophetic directness, more of the eternal and less of the temporal values, and, above all, more exhortation, which is the very soul of the prophetic message—these will save the pulpit from dry rot, and make some music to help deaden the discord of to-day. "Preach the *word*," said an ancient preacher, and nothing else is real preaching.

A SON OF A PROPHET.

WHO WERE THE HABIRI?

To many of us the most sacred memories of life are connected inseparably with the traditional views of the Scriptures. At the knee of a mother who knew nothing else, we formed those first strong, unquestioning tenets of childhood faith, and years of reconstruction do not entirely heal the wounds of those first rude onslaughts of the schoolman of twenty years ago. It was not a welcomed piece of information to be told that the Hebrews, not having men of outstanding worth and excellencies to which they could trace their beginnings, created some of the shadowy stuffs that myths are made of, and the results are the Patriarchs. They surpassed themselves in the Abraham stories, did not do so well with Isaac and Jacob, but reached high-water mark again with Joseph. No ruder shock than to

have the same misty mythical nothingness swallow even the hero of boyhood, David. And on and on until we thought of scholars in terms of the Red men of the West whom we had earlier known. They seemed to think that to wear feathers and war paint, so to speak, they must first get the scalp of some precious tenet of the faith of the saints of God, and the more precious, the greater the scholastic decoration.

No greater joy has come in the years than the news that a single turn of the spade had set Abraham in place as a man among men, lifted the veil from Moses and made David a modern. And from that day to now, the morning of history has been crowded back century after century until 3000 B. C., and even 3400 B. C. are dates that may be dimly seen in the grey and distant dawn. And every discovery has marvelously verified the historicity of the Bible. Only a few further verifications and Biblical history back to Abraham will have been established in its general setting, and the Bible accepted as the richest treasury of dependable historical material from the distant past. Indeed, one more step back and the much maligned "table of the nations" in Gen. 10-11 will be established as a basic guide to scientific ethnology. And we have seen greater strides than this.

It seems to me that one or two other details should be accepted as verified in this reconstruction backward. One is concerning the Habiri or Khabiri of the Tell-el-Amarna Period, about the fifteenth century B. C. Who were they? and what have they to do with Bible history? Were they the Hebrews of the Bible?

It seems to me that to properly answer the first question will settle the few remaining points of controversy concerning Abraham still held by but few. First as to the date of Abraham: Was he a contemporary of Hammurabi, as seems from the mention of Amraphel in Gen. 14, which would place him in the twentieth or even the twenty-first century B. C.? And second: As to whether there was one or two Abrahams—a quiet, peaceful, inconsequential Aramean Abraham and a strong and mighty warrior Amoritish princely chief Abraham, or an Abraham who began with small household and grew in wealth and power and number of household until in the late years of his life he could gather around him a confederation of neighboring chieftain kings and defeat the combined kings of all the East, as the Bible plainly says he does.

According to Gen. 14. 13 Abram, the Hebrew, was told of the invasion of the Eastern kings, one of whom was Amraphel (Hammurabi). The name Hebrew from this time on was the name used by Gentile nations for the descendants of Abram. It must also have been applied to Lot, for he, too, came across from the East, and the word "hebrew" means the one from across. Now the descendants of Abraham were the Israelites through Jacob, the Edomites through Esau, the Ishmaelites through Hagar, the Midianites through Keturah. The descendants of Lot were the Moabites, also Hebrews.

Five hundred years pass between Abram and the Tell-el-Amarna Period, in which the Habiri appear both in the Egyptian and Hittite tablets. Israel was undoubtedly then in bondage in Egypt, and the best

explanation possible for the severity of their bondage and the fear in which they were held by the Egyptians is that they had furnished Egypt the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings whom the native dynasty had crushed and whose kinsmen they still feared. But that is another question.

The Israelites were in bondage in Egypt, but the Ishmaelites, the Midianites, the Edomites, and the Moabites were not and never were, and they were as much Hebrews as were the Israelites. The Hittites were in constant contact with them on the north, and the Egyptian ruler of Jerusalem was surrounded by them, and, judging by Israel, they by this time combined could have become a formidable foe, and were undoubtedly the Habiri of the Tell-el-Amarna period. No author after whom I have read has conceded this, in mention at least, though it strikingly corroborates and establishes the historicity of the Patriarchal stories and much of the Pentateuch. No later date for Abraham is needed to account for the facts known, and no multiplication of Abrahams. Just staying the closest possible to the biblical text accounts best for the whole setting.

W. H. Whitlock.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

The last four centuries B. C., sometimes called the "Period of Silence" in Jewish literature, is to the average Bible student a blank. True, the words Apocrypha, Maccabees, Josephus and Philo are known in a general way, but that is about all. When we come to the terms Apocalyptic and Pseudepigrapha we find still far greater ignorance. And, yet, as Charles—one of the best authorities on this subject—says: "From 200 B. C. to 70 A. D., the religious and political ideals that really shaped the history of Judaism found their expression in the literature which resulted in some of the noblest patriotism and self-sacrifice the world has ever seen." It goes without saying that some knowledge of such greatly neglected works, which form as they do the connecting link between the Old and the New Testaments, if not absolutely necessary, is yet of very great importance to him who would desire a fair knowledge of the canonical Scriptures.

The term Apocalypse, derived from a Greek verb meaning to disclose, to uncover, is precisely the same word as Revelation, the last book of the New Testament. Though Apocalyptic literature found special favor with the Jews and continued very popular with them till the destruction of Jerusalem, it was by no means confined to Judaism. For, besides the Revelation of Saint John, written before the close of the first century of our era, there appeared a goodly number of Christian Apocalypses before 400 A. D. Most of these, no doubt, were from the pens of Christian Jews, and, as many suppose, not a few were written by converted Essenes, who in large numbers became Christians in the infancy of the

church. Apocalypses became very popular in the early church, not only those which had appeared before the time of Christ, but also those which were distinctively Christian, even if produced by converted Jews. This is perfectly natural, for Christian Apocalypses as for Jewish ones. Indeed, the reason for both was the same, namely, comfort and encouragement for sorrowing saints, suffering trial and persecution. Such books afforded great consolation to both Jews and Christians at different times in their history. It may be added that the pre-Christian Pseudepigrapha were often quoted by the church fathers and early Christian writers and apparently were regarded as having the same authority as the canonical Scriptures. It may be asserted further, without fear of contradiction, that not only the evangelists and the apostles, but our Saviour, too, was thoroughly acquainted with these books. Not only much of the thought, but even the identical language of many passages in the New Testament may be traced back to the Jewish Apocalypses. If Saint Paul could quote from Greek poets and philosophers, no wonder that he and other canonical writers should have made use of the literature of his own nation. These Pseudepigraphic writings, though of little historical value, grotesque and fantastic in their weird visions and extravagant prophecies, reflect nevertheless the faith of multitudes in an age of crass materialism and despondency much more accurately than the writings of the legalistic Pharisees or the more learned Scribes.

Though all post-exilic in origin, some of them claim great antiquity, and pretend to have been written by some illustrious saint of the remote past. Thus we have the Book of Enoch; the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, that is, of the twelve sons of Jacob; the Assumption of Moses; the Ascension of Isaiah, and others. The object of such pseudonymity is not hard to find. It was certainly not intentional deception, but rather a kind of an innocent "pious fraud" in order to lend their message greater weight among the contemporaries of the real author. Or, as Schürer, a writer of great distinction on this period in Jewish literature, says: "Instead of addressing them in person, like the prophets of old, they did so by a writing purporting to be the work of some one or other of the great names of the past, in the hope that in this way the effect would be all the surer and all the more powerful." For then, as it has ever been, and is now, most men were wont to revere the ideas of those long ago dead with far greater reverence than those of their own contemporaries.

Just as the names of the real authors are not known, so, too, is the date of their writings a matter of dispute. Some think that they all come from one school of thinkers, others that they have no such close connection. Charles ascribes to most of them Pharisaic origin. So does Schürer, while others contend with much plausibility that the Essenes wrote them. But as they are all anonymous, as in reality all pseudepigraphs are, the question of authorship will never be settled.

It is not our purpose to justify nor even palliate this apparent duplicity, much less to denounce such works as forgeries, but rather to inquire into the real object of the writers. As in the case of the canonical

Apocalypse, from the pen of the seer at Patmos, they originated, as a rule, at a time of dreadful suffering, dire oppression and crushing persecution, when sin was rampant and moral depravity prevailed, when God had been forgotten, or when he apparently hid his face from suffering saints, and seemed indifferent to the actions of the multitudes, when the powers of darkness seemed in control of all things, when heathen ideas to all intents and purposes had triumphed over the religion of Jehovah, when his few loyal followers were in a state of utmost despondency. It was at such a time that these Apocalypses made their appearance. Their chief object, as already said, was consolation for the oppressed and exhortation to faith and patient endurance on their part.

They did not hesitate to pass off their own dreams and visions as genuine revelations, though they personated some ancient worthy. Nor did they scruple to put into the mouth of that worthy the wildest language or to endow him with superhuman intelligence and attributes. Enoch, for example, became the companion of angels. They act as his servants and carry him, not only to every region of the earth, but to the remotest heavens as well. Though the secrets of the future are revealed to him, he is distinctly told that such revelations are not for *his* generation, but for the far-off ages which are to come. (Enoch 1. 2 and 12. 2.) Thus they are easily applied by the real author to his own days or the very near future. We meet with the same sentiment in the canonical Book of Daniel, where we are informed that Daniel did not understand the vision, and was told: "Go thy way, Daniel, for the words are shut up and sealed till the time of the end." (Dan. 12. 8ff.)

Though the Apocalyptic writers indulged in simulated prophecies and fanciful visions, we should not impugn their motives or charge them with indifference to the Law. True, they emphasized prophecy and vision, but it cannot be shown that they were lax in observing the commandments of God. Even to-day the preacher of ethics and the cold historical critic, more or less steeped in rationalism, lose no opportunity in accusing their more mystical, dreamy brethren with a lower standard of morals. The Pharisees in our Lord's time did the same thing. They even charged him with violation of the Law. It was this spirit that made them hostile to Apocalypses. Soon after the exile, the Law was magnified and its proper observance was preached as the one thing necessary to salvation. "There was no more prophet in the land." The rabbis openly taught that even if a prophet should appear, it would be impossible for him to bring in any new revelation. The utmost he could do would be to interpret the Law more clearly. Tradition was everything, hence the lack of originality in the Talmud. And yet it has been well said that "Apocalyptic Judaism and legalistic Judaism were not in pre-Christian times essentially antagonistic. . . . Both started with the unreserved recognition of the Law." Apocalyptists, while emphasizing prophecy, nevertheless observed the Law most rigidly, as mystics and the ultra-orthodox have usually done in all ages. Keeping the Law presupposes correct living and communion with God. It would be very wrong to charge John with indifference to the Law because the word

law is not once mentioned in Revelation. It would be equally unjust to charge the Apocalyptists with negligence of the Law because they do place greater emphasis on patience in the present and hope for the future. They had seen that the most rigid observance of the Law did not always bring material prosperity. Their one great aim was to assure the patient sufferer that deliverance would unfailingly come, if not to-day, to-morrow, if not here on earth, in the Paradise of God.

There is also a marked difference between the writings of the Apocalyptists and the Old Testament prophets. The latter, for the greater part, were preachers of righteousness, reformers, with a direct message to their contemporaries in time of national degeneration and unbelief. The ancient prophet delivered his message orally and expected immediate repentance, reformation and deliverance. It was not till later that some chronicler reduced these prophecies to writing. The Apocalyptists, on the other hand, had no hope of immediate results. They had little or no confidence in their ability to impress their own age. Not only were their messages in writing, but they resorted to pseudepigraphy. The real author was never known, and, as already stated, to give their words greater authority, the name of some great man of the remote past was naively employed.

The predictions of ancient prophets regarding Egypt, Assyria and other lands had been more or less literally fulfilled. So, too, had these pretended prophecies of Enoch, and the Twelve Patriarchs, at least all through the past ages, even to the days of the real author, and so too the prophecies concerning the Syrians and Roman oppressors would certainly be fulfilled; at any rate, they would in the meantime serve as consolation and encouragement to God's people in the hour of trial and sore distress.

These Pseudepigrapha abound in pessimism, much as the premillennialists of our day. They have little or no hope of immediate reformation. The world, at least for the time, seemed to be ruled by Satan and his angels. Their views were shared to some degree by some of the New Testament writers (Matt. 4. 7; John 12. 31; 2 Cor. 4. 4; and many passages in Revelation). But if they despaired of the present, they had supreme faith in the future. As John in Patmos, they, too, had seen an all victorious Messiah, a new earth, no less than a new heaven filled with holiness, and glory of the Lord, where there is no sorrow nor pain, no sickness nor weeping, but one eternal day of joy and gladness.

There is also a strain of fatalism traceable in these Pseudepigrapha. Calamity and extreme suffering benumb the feelings and paralyze the entire system of even intelligent men, as we saw in the great war through which we have just passed. If the bullet is numbered, the soldier must fall. Events follow each other just as naturally as night follows day. All is clockwork. There is a time for wicked men to prosper, as there is for the good to suffer. Nevertheless in God's good time the righteous will necessarily triumph. This is as true of the nation as it is of the individual.

"The origin of Apocalyptic must be sought in unfulfilled prophecy."

Most Apocalypses were written in times of confusion, when all was chaos. The prophets of Israel had foretold in plain language the coming of one who would save the people and deliver them from the yoke of foreign dominion. Not only was King Messiah to rule over united Israel, but his kingdom was to extend over all peoples and nations. Alas! this rule did not materialize, but disappointment followed disappointment. "The clouds returned after the rain." What a picture as we recall the words: Egypt, Exile, Cyrus, the Return from Captivity, Antiochus, Maccabees, Roman despotism and endless persecution! It was a picture which caused pious Jews to dream and see visions. Though despairing of immediate help they nevertheless held high the torch of promise and assured their fellow sufferers that God will ultimately conquer the devil and all his angels. For the Judge of all the earth must do the right.

So completely did these Pseudepigraphic writers conceal their identity, that their names have remained a profound secret. For many centuries their books were all but lost—from the days of Augustine to the Reformation. And it was not till the last century that they became the object of careful study. Strangely enough, though the earliest Apocalypses are of undisputed Jewish origin and even some of the later ones as well, modern Jews have never manifested very great interest in this class of writings. Were it not for the diligence of Christian scholars they might have passed into oblivion, as has much other Jewish literature, and remained undiscovered to this day.

Apocalyptic proper is post-exilic, though there is a goodly number of passages in the Old Testament that belong to this class of literature, such as Is. 24-27, 33-35; Ezek. 28-29; Zech. 12-14; the entire Book of Daniel and many other shorter passages. Many critics maintain that Daniel was not written by the prophet of that name, but by some unknown author about 167 B. C.

It is impossible to date any of these Pseudepigrapha, whether Jewish or Christian, with absolute certainty. Of the large number produced in the first four centuries of our era, the bulk of them were most probably written by Jews who had been converted to Christianity. However, it is not an easy matter to decide whether some of them are of Jewish or Christian origin. This is the more difficult because they are full of later additions and interpolations by Christians. This partially explains why the Jews, from early centuries down to our days, have manifested so little interest in all Apocalypses.

Though no original manuscripts of pre-Christian Pseudepigrapha have been discovered, it is generally agreed that they were written in Hebrew or Aramaic, then translated into Greek, and from the Greek into Ethiopic, Latin and other languages. Many of them have been preserved for us through the Ethiopic. There are now translations into English, German, French, and other modern languages.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK

FRIEDRICH HEILER AND THE NEWER TENDENCIES IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGION

In the year 1918 a young Catholic scholar, Friedrich Heiler, was admitted as privatdocent (lecturer) in the philosophical faculty at Munich for the science and history of religion. The subject of his inaugural lecture was "Luthers religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung" (The Significance of Luther in the History of Religion). The lecture upon its publication attracted much attention, for it was not only a very able piece of work, but it showed an appreciation of Luther's inner history hitherto unknown among Catholics. It was in the same year that Heiler published a work on Prayer: an Historical and Psychological Study (second edition 1920, p. 558), which almost immediately made its author famous. In 1919 Heiler (who, though a Catholic, had been a pupil of Dr. Nathan Söderblom, formerly at Leipzig, but now Archbishop of Upsala), accepted an invitation to visit Sweden in connection with the Congress for the History of Religion and to lecture in various places. In Sweden accordingly he delivered in several places a series of lectures on "The Secret of Prayer," which have been published in German. Of special interest is the fact that while in Sweden he severed connection with the Roman Church by the act of taking Holy Communion with Protestant worshipers in one of the churches. Not long afterward he published another series of lectures on "The Essence of Catholicism." A still more recent episode is his call to Marburg as professor extraordinary in the theological faculty.

Heiler has all the elements that go to make up a highly successful scholar and teacher. Within two years he has won a fame that is astonishing for so young a man. He has ample learning and a rare power of combination and exposition. Besides, he has a profound religious and psychological insight.

The practical interest, however, in noticing his work lies in the recognition of his peculiar method. It is a method already known to scholars in the work of Söderblom and others. Men of this school are interested in the forms of religion only as affording clues to the understanding of inner, personal religion. In Söderblom and Heiler we find no bare description of the externals of religion and no mere history of religious practices and institutions. On the other hand their penetration into the psychology of religion they have not made easy for themselves. The characteristic thing about them is the happy blending of history and psychology. And herein they have a distinct advantage over some of our psychologists of religion, who are too ready to construct finished theories without having assembled and examined a sufficiency of materials.

It will be of interest to call attention to Söderblom's book, Das Werden des Gottesglaubens (The Growth of the Belief in God). It is original and psychologically profound. We wish here to add our appreciation of Söderblom's splendid services to the cause of Christian unity.

His efforts have had regard both to interdenominational and international Christian relations. He is the chief promoter of a lectureship at Upsala on Christian Unity. Professor Deissmann, of Berlin, was a recent lecturer on this foundation, and our Bishop Nuelsen is to give the lecture in the near future.

CANON BARNES ON THE FALL OF MAN

A SERMON preached by Canon Barnes, of Westminster, before the British Association at Cardiff has created an unusual sensation. Preaching before the most representative body of British scientific men, it was not unnatural that Canon Barnes should feel impelled to do what he could to clear the faith of every suspicion of antagonism to science. The particular utterance that made the sermon notorious was his frank repudiation of the traditional doctrine of the fall, which he held to be inconsistent with the established truth of evolution.

The reaction to this utterance has been various. Bramwell Booth was the first to utter a most vigorous protest. On the other hand, many very frankly expressed their full agreement with Dr. Barnes. The net result of the controversy seems to be a strengthening of the impression that in the traditional doctrine of the fall there is a very important and inescapable truth, even though the traditional form of the doctrine is no longer tenable. It has been pointed out—for example, by the venerable Dr. John Clifford—that the utter repudiation of the doctrine of original sin involves consequences that stand in contradiction to the great body of Christian experience. The real issue is not a question of biology. The fundamental question is whether man has in the very organization of his natural life the elements of self-development into his highest destiny, or whether he requires the grace and fellowship of the living God which are not given in mere nature. No readjustment or restatement of doctrine will stand in the light of Christian experience which makes the attainment of the highest goal a matter of naturalistic evolution. But of course Canon Barnes never meant to take so extreme a position. His error seems to have consisted in a one-sided overstatement of his position. Doubtless, he was in the right in so far as he sought to show that the Christian faith has to do with present and eternal realities, and that it requires assent to no theory in matters that lie merely in the province of science. In view, however, of the self-revelation of human sin in the last six years it is not likely that the church can be led into the vain delusion that man can save himself. In this Canon Barnes doubtless represents the evangelical faith, even though his statement tends to the other extreme.

WILLIAM SANDAY

THE recent death of Professor William Sanday, of Oxford, signifies the passing of the best-known and most influential theologian of the English-speaking world. His preëminence was based upon a happy union of

fine personal qualities and rare scholarship. Dr. Sanday had extraordinary natural endowments, and he was a man of patient industry. But no one would fail to recognize in him a Christian character at least as rare as his intellectual attainments. Dr. James Hastings has called him the most Christlike man he ever knew. Something of this one feels in all his writings. These are almost perfect models of courteous consideration of writers of divergent views. They are not less distinguished by a beautiful frankness in accepting new truth and modesty respecting his own accomplishments. A man of beautiful face and striking figure and of most gracious manner, he was to those who knew him more than scholarship and personal charm could account for; he was for them the great witness to the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ.

In recent years Dr. Sanday grieved some of his friends and admirers by acknowledging his acceptance of certain elements of "modern" theology. There is no occasion here to enter into a detailed discussion of this matter. We must, however, record our conviction that Dr. Sanday yielded nothing that must be regarded as indispensable to a full and living faith in the living Lord Jesus Christ. As compared with many liberals in all Protestant lands Dr. Sanday must be regarded as moderately conservative.

It is a well-known fact that certain Anglican theologians of high repute within their own communion have exerted but little influence upon thinkers in other bodies. Dr. Sanday is one of the happiest examples of another class—of the men of a more universal orientation, who speak to all Christian thinkers and can be understood by all.

LAMBETH AND GENEVA

Christians of every communion are feeling to-day the mighty force of the movement toward church unity. Great numbers of Christian people, it is true, are still living in sectarian self-complacency, yet the measure in which the movement has gripped the soul of Christendom is truly wonderful. In the July number of the Review we called attention to some of its recent phases. Closely following the publication of those observations came two of the most significant events in recent church history: the Lambeth Conference on the Reunion of the Churches and the Geneva Conference on Faith and Order.

The Lambeth Conference was composed of the bishops and archbishops from all parts of the earth who are in full communion with the Church of England. The Geneva Conference was a delegated body composed of representatives of many communions in many lands. Even the great Eastern or Greek Church was represented. The chairman of the Geneva Conference was Bishop Brent, of Manila, and the secretary, Mr. Robert H. Gardiner, of Gardiner, Me., a Congregationalist.

For various reasons the manifesto of the Lambeth Conference has made a stronger impression upon the Christian public than that of the Geneva Conference. The chief reason is, of course, that the Anglican

bishops, being all of one communion, were able to put forth something far more definite than the representatives of the many communions at Geneva could agree upon. And yet the Geneva Conference showed a wonderful spirit of brotherhood and a deep sense of the large measure of unity already enjoyed. The great thing in the Geneva Conference was not any formal agreement, but the deep desire for fellowship in Christ —a fellowship in the unity of the faith and service—and the wonderfully frank and brotherly discussions. On the other hand it was possible in the nature of the case that the representatives of a single communion should make a pretty definite pronouncement.

Not that the Anglican bishops found such a pronouncement an easy thing. There were many minor differences to be faithfully considered. Most of the members of the body must have needed long and earnest thought and prayer, in addition to all earlier study of the question, before they reached the needful clarity of vision. And the bishops were at length able to agree unanimously upon a statement and appeal which in itself is a great triumph of faith. For the document shows genuine agreement, not compromise. No doubt it contains features which before the discussions of the conference would have been unacceptable to various members of the body. Prayerful study and free discussion in the spirit resulted in an honest agreement.

In the nature of the case the Lambeth pronouncement leaves something to be desired. The non-Episcopal bodies cannot accept the Lambeth proposals without renouncing positions which as yet they cannot in good conscience renounce. Nevertheless we must all gratefully acknowledge a wonderful change in the new as compared with the older Anglican proposals. The spirit and tone of the encyclical are unimpeachable. The recognition of the Christianity of the non-Episcopal bodies is very cordial, even though, by implication at least, their ecclesiastical authority is denied. The validity of their baptism is acknowledged, and their members are *ipso facto* members of the universal church. It is even acknowledged that these bodies hold to precious truths which they have in some instances urged more effectively than the Anglicans themselves. Furthermore, the Lambeth proposals are an appeal rather than an ultimatum. They are wholly without arrogance; they show a readiness to learn and a sincere desire to be led by the Spirit of God. When it is plainly declared that God had manifestly owned and blessed the ministry of nonconformists and that no minister should be asked to repudiate his own past ministry as invalid, the distance from the old uncompromising arrogance is clearly immense. We have every reason to thank God and take courage. At the same time we are bound to meet the Anglicans in the same spirit of patient endeavor to know the whole truth and will of God.

The Anglican basis of union seems very simple: the Nicene Creed as the fundamental confession of faith, the two sacraments ordained by Christ himself, and the historic episcopate. At all these points there are serious difficulties. Multitudes of Christians feel that the Nicene Creed, while quite acceptable for substance of doctrine within broad limits, is not altogether intelligible and available to-day. Especially the

idea of holding it to be a finality and susceptible of no improvement is deprecated by many. As to the sacraments, the matter is rather painful when we consider the exclusion of Quakers, Salvationists and Plymouth Brethren. At the same time it is hardly conceivable that the Christian Church could ever set aside the sacraments. But of course the chief difficulty lies in the stress laid upon the "historic episcopate." We feel that our Anglican brethren are in serious error at this point, but we do not hold their error to be radical. In other words, there is an element of truth in their claim, and they are gripped by that truth and it will not let them go. The truth, we take it, is the inviolable spiritual continuity of the church: the church must be apostolic; the stream of life in the church must be one and unbroken; the church lives by the truth once delivered unto the saints. The error—and we hold it to be a very grave one—lies in finding the spiritual continuity of fellowship inseparably bound up with and conditioned by purely external matters. We appeal to the Spirit's own witness to the ministry of the word by non-Episcopal ministers as the demonstration of the proposition that the fullness of the life and fellowship of the Spirit is not dependent on what is called the historic episcopate. This was the irresistible argument of Paul against the exclusive Jewish-Christian party in his day, and it seems still to be an immovable rock of reality.

BOOK NOTICES

Modern Premillennialism and the Christian Hope. By HARRIS FRANKLIN RALL. 8vo, pp. 255. New York: The Abingdon Press. Price, $1.50, net.

The Return of the Redeemer. By GEORGE P. ECKMAN. 12mo, pp. 272. New York: The Abingdon Press. Paper, 50 cents, net.

Premillennialism. By GEORGE PRESTON MAINS. 12mo, pp. 160. New York: The Abingdon Press. Price, $1, net.

IN a deep and profound sense we are saved by hope, but hope is not a phantom of the imagination without regard to the facts of life. Christian hope is based on the assurance of the inherent validity of truth and the results already achieved are an earnest of the ultimate triumph of God over all the forces of evil. A correct perspective takes note of the background of history and of all world-movements in their relation to the spread of the gospel of Christ. There has been revolution with cataclysmic disturbances, but there has also been evolution in the quiet and steady growth of truth through the Christian centuries. In times of strain the revolutionary method becomes an obsession and a spirit of irresponsible enthusiasm, akin to fanaticism, is exhibited. We are in grave danger from this source to-day and any influences that give the necessary balance should be welcomed.

These three volumes discuss in a comprehensive way one of the mistaken phases of Christian thought, so called, concerning the triumph

of Christ and his cause. Millenarianism refers to the reign of Christ for a thousand years without regard to the development of history. It will begin and end in cataclysmic fashion, so that the close will really be an anticlimax. This doctrine is based on only one passage in Scripture, Revelation 20. 1-10, which is taken literally, while the rest of the book is interpreted symbolically. It is further supported by Jewish Apocalyptic writings and Biblical passages quoted without regard to Scriptural context or content. The literalistic and mechanical theory of Biblical inspiration is both unhistorical and unspiritual, and it makes an appeal to credulity rather than to faith, as is the case with premillennialists. It might be supposed that their erroneous speculations would be confuted by their manifest inconsistencies. Instead, an energetic campaign has been continuously conducted by the votaries of this doctrine and they have won many to its acceptance, although it cuts at the foundations of the Christian faith. Their success is explained in part by the undenominational character of the teaching, the assertive and dogmatic manner of speech, the appeal to Scripture language rather than to Scripture thought, and by a religious manner suggestive of other-worldliness. Pastors who have been so unfortunate as to have the votaries of this cult in their churches are fully aware of the havoc they work. It is therefore incumbent on preachers that they understand this heresy, for such it is, that they might instruct their people in the whole counsel of God.

Professor Rall's volume is a critical and constructive interpretation. He traces the scarlet thread of hope through Old and New Testaments, and differentiates between prophet and Apocalyptist, pointing out the characteristically dualistic, deterministic and pessimistic features of Apocalypse as well as its message of comfort and cheer for dark days. Jesus was not an Apocalyptist in the Jewish sense, for he emphasized without uncertainty the spiritual nature of the Kingdom of God and proclaimed the goodness and grace of God as "our Father" rather than his power and majesty as an autocratic ruler. The apostle Paul has nothing to say about premillennialism. Although at first he stressed the Apocalyptic hope, it was later subordinated to the realities of spiritual fellowship mediated through Christ the Redeemer and Reconciler. So also with John, whose Gospel ignores the Apocalyptic element in favor of a present spiritual experience. The teaching of the book of Revelation is also well summarized by Professor Rall, but even this book lends no support to premillennialism, except for one passage which if taken symbolically with the rest of the work contradicts this doctrine. It is interesting to learn that the church has consistently repudiated this heresy because it contravenes the spirit of faith and hope and endeavors to revert to a Jewish state which is essentially anti-Christian. Its pessimism, fatalism, militarism, and materialism are also discussed. An important chapter is that on "Where Premillennialism Leads." In spite of its declarations about the Christian hope, it really destroys the hope which has buoyed up Christians in every generation and sends them adrift on an open sea without chart or compass. The practical implica-

tions of premillennialism are considered particularly in Part III. The testimony of both history and experience is against it, as is also that of Scripture. The spiritual nature of the Kingdom of God and its progressive coming summon the church to make God more real to men and bring them into fellowship with him, whose character revealed in Christ is a challenge to us to engage in his service, until the consummation when God shall be all and in all. This is a very strong book and should be widely studied.

Dr. Eckman's volume is confined exclusively to Scripture exposition. He brings together passages with due regard to their context and reviews all the factors involved, in the light of the world's advances. His aim is to convince those who rely wholly on the Scriptures, and so he has avoided references to the discussions of scholars. Here he completes the thought so well set forth in his previous book, When Christ Comes Again. This exposition by one of our greatest preachers who always had the ear of the people, cannot fail to convince those who desire to know the truth. There is no other book that quite covers the ground with such thoroughness, and where justice is done both to the language and the thought of the Scriptures. "The key to the seeming contradictions in the words of Jesus about his coming again is found in the fact that he was not always speaking about the same thing." He holds with others that there have been several comings of Christ. "After we have made every allowance required to reconcile the seeming inconsistencies in the prophecy of our Lord concerning his second advent, it is still impossible to explain the predictions which remain on any other ground than that Christ announced in clear terms that he was coming back at the end of the age to raise the dead, judge the world and introduce the life of the heavenly world." This quotation indicates his point of view. The titles of the chapters suggest the questions discussed. They are: "The Coming of the Lord," "The Promise of His Coming," "The Expectation of His Coming," "Coming in His Kingdom," "The Kingdom as the Prophets Foresaw It," "The Kingdom as Apocalypse Pictured It," "The Kingdom as Jesus Preached It," "The Kingdom as the Apostles Thought It," "The Kingdom and the Church," "The End of the World," "The Puzzle of the Antichrist," "The Millennium," "Armageddon the Last War," "The Business of the Hour." Those who are obsessed by the second coming of Christ suffer from unreality, get out of relation to the current life of their times, indulge in false interpretations of the life of the world, ignore all use of human judgment in the study of the great themes of the Bible.

Dr. Mains is brief but direct. He quotes extensively and his pungent criticism of premillennialism will commend itself to all who wish to have in compact and lucid form the best thought of Christian scholarship concerning a doctrine which discards Scripture perspective, misunderstands history, disregards learning, advocates Jewish provincialism, contradicts the gospel of redemption, and interferes with the spread of the Kingdom of our God and his Christ.

The Apocalypse of John. Studies in Introduction with a Critical and Exegetical Commentary. By Isbon T. Beckwith, Ph.D., D.D. 8vo, pp. xv+794. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $4.

The Book of Revelation has suffered much rough handling from interpreters who have seen only half the truth. They have treated this book by a poet as though it were written in prose by a dogmatic theologian. The imagination has been resorted to more than the reason, guesses have taken the place of knowledge, and assertion has superseded investigation. The weird theories advanced by some religionists prove that their calculations were limited by materialistic prepossessions instead of being liberated by spiritual considerations. It is only in recent years that we have had access to the extensive Jewish Apocalyptic literature to which the great Christian Apocalypse was greatly indebted. It cannot be understood independently of this vast literature, which includes Ezekiel, Daniel, the Book of Enoch, Second Esdras and the Apocalypse of Baruch. This type of writing was invariably produced in times of persecution and their purpose was essentially practical, not speculative. The Revelation of John was written to warn the church of its peril and to quicken its spiritual life by imparting courage, endurance and comfort, and by fortifying its confidence in the ultimate triumph of God over the powers of evil. This explains why certain of its passages have been justly regarded as among the most precious portions of the Bible.

Dr. Beckwith has made a valuable contribution to the clearer understanding of the book of Revelation. It is not an enigma, but is "one of the most comprehensible, as it is one of the most splendid books of our Bible, and—I might also add—a book of extraordinary literary power." The Introduction deals with most of the relevant questions, although it does not sufficiently reckon with the religious syncretism of Asia Minor in the first century, when there was an intermixture of Parsi, Egyptian and Hellenic elements in the popular religion. This significant feature in the background of the Apocalypse is ably dealt with by Professor James Moffatt in his masterly commentary in the Expositor's Greek Testament. While Dr. Beckwith favors the tradition that the Apocalypse was written by the apostle John, he also realizes the difficulties connected with this conclusion. "Opinion will probably remain divided between John the Apostle and John the Presbyter, according to the attitude of different minds toward evidence. But it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the question of the personality of the author is altogether subordinate to that of the canonicity of the book and its religious value." We cannot be too frequently reminded that the author was not writing beforehand the history of the future as it would take place in the world and the church. He was dealing with contemporary events in accordance with permanent principles, as valid for our own day as they were for his own distracted times. When the book is read from the author's historical and literary standpoint and taken as a whole, it will be seen that its unity of purpose was in harmony with the

entire apostolic testimony of the first century. "The book is the work of a prophet and a religious poet often transported with the transcendent thoughts filling his vision, writing with the unrestrained freedom of a Hebrew in departing from ordered sequence and self-consistency, in seizing and mingling figures, in joining abruptly anticipation and retrospect, in suggesting rather than unfolding thought, and in drawing for his vehicle of expression from every part of Jewish life and literature, especially from Jewish eschatology."

The historical method of study thus enables us to set this product of the first century in its legitimate context, so that its real message to the twentieth century might be more intelligently appreciated. Section VIII of the Introduction on "Permanent and Transitory Elements in the Apocalypse" is an able discrimination between relative values and should be carefully studied. Another section on "The Theology of the Apocalypse" is equally suggestive. Section I on "The Eschatological Hope" passes in review the whole Biblical contribution to this subject and due recognition is given to the Messianic conceptions which held controlling influence at various periods including the New Testament age. "While the expectations of both prophecy and apocalyptic center in a coming messianic era, that is, in a final era in which the Kingdom of God will be established, the former conceives the kingdom chiefly in political and earthly aspects, the latter in those that are non-political and supernatural. The main interest of the one is mundane; of the other supermundane." After pointing out that the distinctiveness of apocalyptic is in its religious and eschatological ideas, it is shown that among other characteristics are visions and raptures and the element of mysteriousness. Several of the apocalyptic writings, canonical and non-canonical, are also described, as an aid to the comparative study of these writings, so necessary to a correct understanding of the Christian Apocalypse. A further help toward a knowledge of this book is the section on "The Times of the Apocalypse of John."

Dr. Beckwith holds to the unity of this writing and here he is in agreement with the consensus of opinion on the subject. The theory of revision which implies a primary Apocalypse and the theory of compilation which makes the author wholly dependent on other Jewish and Christian Apocalypses are both inadequate in explaining the ordered arrangement of the book. The unity advocated is, however, consistent with a free use of material derived from other sources. As Dr. Moffatt well put it, "John's Apocalypse is flecked with allusions to Ezekiel, Zechariah, and, above all, Daniel. But his use of Daniel especially is more than that of a *littérateur* reproducing impressive and poetic conceptions from the study of a classic. For all the artistic and even artificial literary shape of the book, we should weigh it in the wrong scales were we to estimate it as the work of an author who simply drew upon such earlier models for his own later purposes." To this might be added a sentence from Dr. Beckwith that, "more than half the number of verses contain allusions to the Old Testament, or imagery, figures or language therefrom." But whatever the author incorporated was first

passed through the crucible of his own mind and the apocalyptic hope was infused by the Christian spirit, so that his volume is "the blossom and fruit of the great apocalyptic movement which grew up in the century before and the century after Christ." Many difficulties of the Apocalypse can be met if we recognize the literary manner of its author, which was marked by repetitions, interruptions, contradictions, abrupt changes, the use of brief indefinite expressions, and of symbols, types and numbers. These features are carefully noted. Another section is a "Summary of the Contents of the Apocalypse." There is much else of value in the Introduction, which furnishes the student with a full equipment for a comprehensive study of this unique book of the New Testament. The commentary goes into questions of detail. It is both critical and exegetical with numerous textual notes and historical references which throw light on the circumstances of the author and his times. It is exceptionally well done and is a credit to American scholarship. Altogether this is a notable volume. It will help to clarify thought that has become mystified by the fantastic speculations of those who discard the perspective of history and the deeper purpose of the redemption in Jesus Christ.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

The Epistles of Saint John. By CHARLES GORE, D.D. 12mo, pp. xiii+237. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $2.

LIKE everything which the late Bishop of Oxford has written, this latest volume by him has all his well-known characteristics of strength and weakness. He is nothing if not forceful and the decisiveness which he claims for the apostle John is one of his qualities, although, unlike Saint John, he inclines toward the spirit of dogmatism. He is a scholar without the mild persistence of Professor Sanday, but he is also a preacher with the arresting abilities of the best. It is as a preacher's contribution that this volume should be judged. His argument in favor of the Johannine authorship of the fourth Gospel is well taken, but those who accept the opposite view receive short shrift. The First Epistle is accepted as a commentary on the leading ideas of the Gospel. These ideas, moreover, are marked by profundity and simplicity. The term mysticism has been variously defined by different writers. Dr. Gore's exposition of it is worth quoting. "By the term 'mystic' we describe a class of thinkers who have three special characteristics—first, that they are not content with a surface view of the world or with its external aspect, but (in Wordsworth's phrase) 'see into the life of things'; secondly, that they have an intensely vivid perception of the unity of all things in God—they see God in all things and all things in God, and find in communion with God, aimed at and in part realized here and now, the chief occupation of their lives; thirdly, that their method of arriving at truth is not the method of argument or discursive reasoning, but the method of intuition; they do not arrive at truth by critical inquiry or antagonism to error, but by a sort of positive vision or feeling. Now

Saint John has all those characteristics to an intense degree. He is thus intensely mystical."

The "momentous simplicities" of this Epistle are vividly expounded with reference to our own situation. On the idea that "God is Light," Dr. Gore points out that, "Saint John's Gospel of life consists first of all in a message about the nature of God. This is because what men will become and do depends in the long run upon what they believe about God." On another page he vigorously states the relation between belief and practice. "It is really shallowness, or what Butler calls shortness of thought, which causes so many to-day to talk as if 'what exactly people believe' is not of much importance so long as their hearts are right. The fact is that however much inconsistency there may be between intellectual belief and practice at any particular moment or in any particular individual, in the long run how men behave—the character of their whole civilization, indeed—depends upon what exactly they really believe about God." Another formative idea is that "God is Love." The decided trend of Saint John's argument implies that the true character of God was revealed in Jesus Christ. Hence the force of his warnings against the insidious influence of false teachers. This is well brought out in the chatper on "The Antichrists." The fatal fallacy of Gnosticism was in the attempt to "dissolve" Jesus by depreciating the strength of his divine-human person. Such a fell conspiracy has been discovered in every age. The hearty acceptance of the full revelation of God in Jesus Christ is further evidenced in the practical expression of the law of love. It has always held true that "Christianity could only triumph through the exhibition among men of a human fellowship of love utterly transcending all racial differences and prejudices." Dr. Gore believes, as do all Christians, in the coming of Christ in glory, but he adds wisely that "we are not meant to learn the future beforehand, except in its moral principles." We cannot, however, accept his view that the words "Jesus cometh in the flesh" refer to the second coming and not to the Incarnation. There is some clear thinking on the subject of sin. It is not "a survival of animal instinct" which civilization tends to outgrow. "Sin is a spiritual thing—a rebellion of will which appears in refined and intellectual as well as in sensual and animal forms. Developed civilizations are no less sinful than barbarisms." Back of sin is the presence of the master-rebel who is not a principle but a personality, the enemy of all good. We must therefore conclude that "There are two tendencies; two standards; two kingdoms between which we have to choose; and our wisdom is to see each in its essential nature, in its ultimate issue, and under its real leader—Christ or the devil; Christ or Antichrist. Of course, Saint John is no dualist. He of all men knows that there is one God—that the devil is only a rebel spirit, and that the kingdom of evil is destined only for final overthrow. Nevertheless, in our existing world evil is alive and active, and stands to be overcome."

Dr. Gore's conception of intercessory prayer is too limited. While the illustrations from our Lord's High Priestly prayer in John, chapter seventeen, and from Saint Paul's prayers, suggest that intercession is

to be offered "for the perfecting of those already in correspondence with God," there are other passages, as I Timothy, chapter two, which have a more inclusive bearing. How could we pray for the extension of the Kingdom of God if we ignore those outside its fellowship? Indeed, the very genius of the New Testament implies the high practice of intercession on behalf of those without as well as those within. The Second and Third Epistles are briefly discussed although the essence of their teaching is succinctly enforced. These writings of Saint John are marked by the notes of conviction, assurance, definiteness and inevitableness. This is what we greatly need in our own day of moral confusion and spiritual destitution. We are therefore thankful to Dr. Gore for presenting their timely message with such clear thought, conclusive reasoning and cogent application.

The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World. By EDWARD CALDWELL MOORE. 12mo, pp. xi+352. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Price, $2, net.

West and East. The Expansion of Christendom and the Naturalization of Christianity in the Orient in the Nineteenth Century. By EDWARD CALDWELL MOORE. 8vo, pp. xii+421. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $4.

WE need the synthetic mind to understand the clash of ideals and traditions and to interpret the underlying unity of what appears to be discord and division. The spirit of pretension and the attitude of patronage are expressive of provincialism which in the last analysis is an exhibition of ignorance. If we rightly discern the signs of the times we cannot but recognize that "the ends of the earth are coming in ever larger degree to have a common life." A new world consciousness will help us to subordinate local to universal elements and to cease to think of "the effete East," which in reality is a paradox; for there has been as much movement and unrest in the Orient, though of a different sort, as in the Occident. Many of our ideas about Eastern peoples have been nourished on the unwholesome food of prejudice. The eulogy of Western civilization has received the scathing criticism of facts and we are compelled to acknowledge that much of it has been viciously injurious. This conclusion need not make us pessimistic, but should drive us to use all agencies of interpretation and fellowship to bridge the chasm between races and nations. Such an attempt has a direct bearing on the missionary task of the church and any contributions made towards a more comprehensive conception of this enterprise will materially aid in furthering it.

These two volumes by Professor Moore of Harvard University supplement each other and help us to understand the processes by which Christianity should be naturalized and nationalized. The spread of Christianity in the modern world is a historical survey of the arrests and advances of missionary work with reference to other world movements. This larger background enables us to deal impartially and ade-

quately with the expansion of Christendom, viewed in its outward and inward aspects. The work of colonization and commerce has been contemporaneous with that of evangelization, but frequently the last has been absorbed by the first two and even set aside, as witness the history of the British East India Company for the first two hundred years of its operations. It was not to be expected that so many-sided a movement could be completely described within the brief compass of this volume. But the author of Christian Thought since Kant has the ability to seize the salient features of the currents of thought and life, and in the volume on modern missions he has furnished a remarkably full outline which can be filled in by those who would use the unusually extensive bibliography appended to it. We wish, however, that this historical and critical recital had been at least as large as his lectures on West and East. Here he discusses the principles involved in the spread of the influence of European civilization and in the propaganda of Christianity.

We are reminded that the war, far from discrediting Christianity in the minds of thoughtful Orientals, really discredited Christendom for having fallen so far below the level of Christianity. The expansion of Europe was not merely one of territory but more decidedly that of the European mind. Everywhere, even among the most conservative Oriental peoples, there has taken place the adoption and adaptation of European ideas and institutions. This peaceful conquest of Orientals who are assimilating the ideals and thoughts of the West is one of the most notable phenomena of the modern world. But herein lies a serious danger. "We of the West have not given to the rest of the world simply the finished results of our civilization or of our faith. On the contrary, we have presented to the world our own unsolved problems. We have drawn all mankind within the contagion of our own unrest. We have broken in ruthlessly upon the supposed peace of the Orient without having any peace of our own to offer." This question is considered in its economic, industrial, commercial, moral and religious bearings, and the arguments are supported by illustrations from the entire field of activities. It is worth recalling that the missionary awakening was at first opposed by Protestant ecclesiastical bodies. Even Luther regarded missions as futile and went so far as to denounce them as an interference with the plan of God. Just as in the Reformation period missions were fostered by the pietists, so in the later century they were sustained as purely voluntary undertakings of an undenominational character. This was also true of the efforts against slavery, on behalf of prison reform, and for industrial and social betterment. What a reflection all this is on institutional Christianity! Another fact worth mentioning is that the purpose of both Roman Catholics and Protestants, at the outset, was to establish "sovereignties of their respective faiths" in non-Christian lands, and so perpetuate all the hampering distinctions of Lutheran, Anglican, Nonconformist and New England dogma and ecclesiasticism. An important distinction is made between evangelization, which may be the task of a few years, and Christianization, which is a problem of

ages. "Christianization must seem to us, when we think soberly, a limitless task, for it means the transformation of every phase of the life of man. It is a task which must be the more prolonged and the more difficult in proportion as we aim at reality and not at any mere semblance of victory for the Christian cause in the world."

One of the limitations of early Protestantism was due to its suspicious attitude toward culture and civilization. The early missionaries sought to change the mind and heart of individuals but did not consider the relations of the outward to the inner life. The change in later missionary propaganda was due to the larger conception of the social implications and applications of Christianity. "If the eighteenth century was the century of the civil question, the nineteenth has been by eminence the century of the social question." In the twentieth century it is receiving larger emphasis, as the aim of religion is now understood to be, not to rescue men from the world but in the world. The progress thus made in medicine, trade, government, and social reforms under the influence of the larger missionary outlook is fully discussed in Lecture IV. Dr. Moore impartially appraises the beneficial effects of British rule in India especially as regards administration, education and the exercise of justice. These matters, as they affect other Eastern nations, are also discussed with a wealth of knowledge and understanding. The question of education receives the careful attention it deserves in Lectures V and VI. "Emphasis upon education has been everywhere one of the striking characteristics of the nineteenth century. A cause which was, until the middle of the eighteenth century, essentially aristocratic, has now become the object of unbounded popular enthusiasm. A training, which had aimed exclusively at the fitting of a chosen few for leadership, now aims at the dissemination of all useful knowledge among the masses of mankind. It seeks to impart some form of fitness to the most needy and helpless classes. It aims to qualify literally all men for ever enlarging responsibilities." The value of industrial education is not overlooked, nor is that of the influence of the press, while the beneficial change in the position of women in the East is set forth at length. The teaching of religion is suggestively discussed and the need for the reinterpretation of religion is earnestly advocated.

It is evident that religion can never be the same everywhere. So far as Christianity is concerned, we must make fuller provision for the exhibition of types of Christianity which reflect the peculiar mental and social climate of each country. In its contact with non-Christian faiths Christianity should assimilate to itself much in these faiths. But what is Christianity? It is "that element of the pure spiritual intuition and enthusiasm of Jesus, which in composition with elements given in time and place and circumstance, did the work which a given race or era needed to have done and aided men to live their lives in God." This answer is indefinite and unsatisfactory. It is a form of transformed humanitarianism with Jesus at the center, to be sure, but it does not have the decisive note of apostolic Christianity which was both aggressive and constructive. Granted that the earlier missionaries had a circum-

scribed horizon they yet wrought effectively in changing the lives of men and also in introducing social transformations. What was said of the work of the Benedictines was true of these pioneer emissaries: "They went out to save their souls and saved the world by accident." Should we not hold with the pietists and evangelicals that Christianity is "primarily a personal and inner relation of the individual soul to the God whom Jesus revealed and to Jesus as the Revealer and Redeemer"? Does it not also consist of "that series of facts and phenomena in which the life of believers, in their communion one with another and with their Lord and Master, found expression"? Have not these facts been conveyed to the world through the church, which, though failing at many points, has been the unique agency for the spread of Christianity and will continue so to be to the end of time? A Christianity that is to be naturalized and nationalized must have a deeper content than the "reduced" Christianity of liberalism.

There will doubtless be assimilation and adaptation, but the Oriental types of Christianity must in essence correspond with what is accepted in the West, or it will cease to be Christianity and become a congeries of eclectic beliefs and eccentric practices without the redemption vitality of the gospel of Christ. We have only to refer to the various Somajes in India in support of this statement. "Our German and English and American Christianity is all shot through with elements which are not Christian in their origin. They are an inheritance from our own Teutonic forefathers from before the time when these received Christianity." So writes Dr. Moore. What then is to prevent the same misfortune overtaking Oriental Christianity unless we guard against compromises in matters of caste in India, ancestral worship in China and other distinctively anti-Christian practices elsewhere? We must, above all, secure and preserve the vivid personal experience of the reality and redemption of Jesus Christ. We shall then be free to modify and adapt and receive whatever will further the Christianization of the nations. These two volumes provoke thought, stimulate inquiry, suggest policies in view of radical changes swiftly taking place throughout the world. Although we disagree with some of the conclusions, these two discussions merit the attention of those who would see Christendom become more Christian, and who would offer to paganism the real deliverance in Jesus Christ our Saviour and Lord, so that his cause and kingdom may be established in all the earth. O. L. J.

The Lord of Life and Death. By the Rev. J. D. Jones, M.A., D.D. 12mo, pp. 316. New York: Hodder & Stoughton. Price, $2, net.

Could these sermons be preached to an American audience with sustained interest till the completion of the series? There are not many preachers who have shown courage to undertake such a course. Or shall we rather say that the methods of the American preacher differ from those of his British brother? The art of expository preaching is practiced to greater advantage on the other side of the ocean than it is with

us; and yet the welcome given to British preachers proves that our congregations are not averse to this style of preaching. It is by no means the easiest way, for it demands careful study of the Bible and all available helps; but it has always proved to be full of rich compensations. Dr. Cadman, than whom there is no one more competent to speak on the subject, says in his volume, Ambassadors of God, "While to-day some American preachers are expository, the larger number are topical in their mode of sermonic treatment, and not a few sacrifice the authority derived from a full and accurate knowledge of the Bible. The necessity for expository preaching is accentuated by the present condition of the English-speaking peoples."

Dr. Jones has selected one of the most significant incidents in the gospel story for his exposition. The raising of Lazarus is a theme of large meaning, as Tennyson in "In Memoriam" and Browning in the "Epistle of Karshish" have so finely shown. Its message to the sorrowing heart and the broken spirit of our own day is brought home by Dr. Jones with deep insight and the charm of tender sympathy. The assurance of peace through Christ and the certainty of immortality in him, so convincingly declared in his volume, If a Man Die, are found also in this latest volume. This preacher has made a diligent use of lexicon, commentary and the Greek New Testament, but his study is in the background. When he quotes, there is the impression of familiarity with the best thought. Sometimes he stops to bring out the meaning of a word and appeals to grammar. On the text, "He groaned in the spirit," he says, "There is a difficulty about the word 'spirit.' The word in the Greek is in the simple dative. There is no preposition 'in.' The 'in' is our revisers' translation of what they take to be the meaning of the dative. But some say that 'spirit' is the object of the verb, not the sphere with which the emotion was displayed. They would translate 'He sternly checked his spirit.' And the interpretation they put on it is this. They say that our Lord's natural inclination was to exercise his Divine power at once, and so put an end to Mary's heartbroken grief. But 'He sternly checked his spirit,' and, as Westcott says, 'first voluntarily brought himself into complete sympathy with the sorrow which he came to relieve.' He checked his first impulse to exercise his power, in order that in sheer but dear human sympathy he might weep with Mary." On the tears of Jesus there is a suggestive difference brought out. "The verb used to describe the weeping of Mary is the word κλαίω; the verb used to describe the weeping of Jesus is the verb δακρύω. Now, the difference between the two verbs is something like this: κλαίω suggests loud and convulsive lamentation, sobbing, and wailing; δακρύω suggests the silent shedding of tears. Mary *wailed*. But of Jesus, the evangelist only says that *tears fell from him*. The weeping of Jesus, Godet says, is the expression of a calm and gentle sorrow." Often a word yields a happy application. Thus on the text, "Nevertheless let us go unto him," Dr. Jones writes: "The assurance of immortality is in almost every line of this wonderful chapter. It shines upon us out of such a sentence as this. Personal conscious immortality is involved in this sentence: 'Let

us go unto him.' There surely never was a more comforting, hope-inspiring 'nevertheless' than that of this sentence. It tells us things are not what they seem. Death looks like destruction and the end of things. But it is not. The last word is not death, but life. Death snatches our dear ones from our side; nevertheless they live. We lay them in the cold, dark grave; nevertheless they are not there, but in the house of many mansions. To all appearance they are lost to us; nevertheless they are ours still, and nearer than we sometimes think. This conjunction is a challenge to death, it is a repudiation of death, it is a denial of death." In the sermon on "Providential Absences" there is a beautiful illustration worth quoting. "There is a picture in one of the foreign galleries entitled 'Cloudland.' It hangs at the end of a long gallery, and at first sight it looks like a boding, menacing, threatening sky. But as you come near, the clouds resolve themselves into an innumerable company of little angel faces, which is a parable. The dark cloud is God's angel. The seeming absences may be a blessing. 'I am glad for your sakes that I was not there, to the intent ye may believe.'" Some of the titles of these fifteen sermons are "The Bethany Household," "The Delays of Love," "The Twelve-Hour Day," "The Tears of Jesus," "Jesus at the Grave," "The Effect of the Miracle." They are all worth reading and both preachers and laity will find them full of the consolations and conquests of the Christian faith.

The Voice of the Negro. By Robert T. Kerlin (editor). E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1920.

The Negro Faces America. By Herbert J. Seligmann. Harper & Bros., New York, 1920.

Darkwater. By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. Harcourt, Brace & Howe, New York, 1920.

Finding a Way Out. By Robert Russa Moton. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1920.

For years one of the commonest fallacies noticeable in discussions of the Negro question in the United States has been a tendency to leave out of account altogether the Negro's own opinion as to the problem and his attitude toward it. Gradually things are changing. Immediately after the Washington riot of last year a teacher in the Virginia Military Institute thought that it might be worth while to make a compilation from the colored press of the country to show the Negro's own reaction to the riot, as well as to the war and other events from day to day. When he told a publisher that he was making such a compilation, the reply was that the book would be disagreeable reading. "There are some things," says Professor Kerlin, "worse than disagreeable reading."

The Voice of the Negro is interesting throughout, and shows that the race has indeed traveled far since America declared war on Germany in 1917. Extracts setting forth the differences between the new Negro and the old, and the feeling of the race as to grievances and demands,

riots and lynchings, are all here. One would be interested in knowing Professor Kerlin's own reaction to his reading; but interpretation would probably have obscured the value of the work. It may be that he will give us an independent study later.

In The Negro Faces America we get interpretation, and that by a very clever journalist. Mr. Seligmann is thoroughly informed on the unhappy events of the last few years, and he gives special attention to the Negro as an industrial factor. A rather excessive use of quotation may be pardoned, as on such a subject it is necessary to give facts and references. A chapter is devoted to what the author calls the South's "color psychosis," the effect of which is "the continuance in the South of a state of feeling closely akin to the hysteria which swept the rest of the nation in the World War," and we come to the interesting conclusion that "the chief problem of race relations in the United States is the education of white people to decency in their attitude toward colored citizens."

Fortunately the year has also brought to us two books by men who are highly representative of their race and who approach from somewhat different angles the problem that affects their people. Darkwater is one of those intense human documents that may be liked or disliked, rather hated or loved, but that cannot be overlooked. The author, outstanding for two decades as a student of racial questions, in the book that has now appeared formally attempts to sum up his theory of life and his indictment of the white world. While the book is of superb literary quality, we miss the uniform richness of style that characterized The Souls of Black Folk; and it is to be regretted that the tone of the book is sometimes high-keyed and shrill. The message, however, is there, and it is the absolute sincerity of Darkwater with which one has to reckon. Dr. Du Bois describes a little adventure on a street in Nashville one day while he was still a young student. "From that day to this," he says, "I have never knowingly raised my hat to a Southern white woman." He asks, "Can you imagine the United States protesting against Turkish atrocities in Armenia, while the Turks are silent about mobs in Chicago and St. Louis; what is Louvain compared with Memphis, Waco, Washington, Dyersburg, and Estill Springs? What Belgium now suffers is not half, not even a tenth, of what she has done to black Congo since Stanley's great dream of 1880." This is a strong position, and in connection with the whole matter of lynching all will watch with interest the fate of the bill just now before the national Senate.

Very different from the last book in both message and tone is Finding a Way Out. The author of the work is well aware that it raises dangerous questions and comparisons. As he himself is the successor of Booker T. Washington, one is forced to remember Up from Slavery, a piece of writing incomparable for its tact, its simplicity, and its telling force. Dr. Moton's book, however, avoids dangerous pitfalls and becomes the possessor of an independent interest. For what he says as to his own early life, as to Hampton Institute, and as to the Negro soldiers that he addressed in France, it is alike interesting; but beyond any such reasons

as these Finding a Way Out assumes definite importance. It, too, is a genuine document of the times. It is now five years since Booker T. Washington died. Within that little space how much of life and of history have been compressed, not only of the Negro but of the world! So far as the Negro is concerned, both Hampton and Tuskegee have made a definite contribution. Dr. Moton's book becomes nothing less than an historical record of many of the efforts of recent years for the advancement of his people. It is from this standpoint that it finally seems to us to be of most value.

BENJAMIN BRAWLEY.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

The Pastor of the Pilgrims. A Biography of John Robinson. By WALTER H. BURGESS. 8vo, pp. xii, 426. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Howe. Price, $5.

The Heart of the Puritan. Selections from Letters and Journals. Edited by ELIZABETH DEERING HANSCOM. 12mo, pp. xiii, 281. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $1.50.

The Pilgrims and their History. By ROLAND G. USHER, Ph.D. 12mo, pp. x, 310. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $2.

The Mayflower Pilgrims. By EDMUND JANES CARPENTER, Litt.D. 8vo, pp. 255. New York: The Abingdon Press. Price, $1.50.

The Women Who Came in the Mayflower. By ANNIE RUSSELL MARBLE. 12mo, pp. xi, 110. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. Price, $1.50.

The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers. By H. G. TUNNICLIFF. 12mo, pp. 157. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, $1.25.

The Argonauts of Faith. By BASIL MATHEWS. 12mo, pp. xiii, 185. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $1.50.

The Founding of a Nation. By FRANK M. GREGG. 8vo, pp. 481. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $2.25.

A Loiterer in New England. By HELEN W. HENDERSON. 8vo, pp. xviii, 445. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $5.

THERE is nothing in the annals of church history to surpass the thrilling recital of courageous devotion to an ideal exhibited by the Pilgrims. They braved the dangers of an ocean voyage and the rigors of winter in an inhospitable climate that they might secure for themselves the benefits of religious and economic freedom. Their success in this undertaking was a credit to the leadership which guided these pioneers of a better day. It is sufficient to mention the names of John Robinson the counselor and pastor, William Brewster the elder, John Carver the first governor, William Bradford the second governor and author of The History of Plymouth Plantation, Miles Standish the valiant soldier, Samuel Fuller the doctor. We recall the abortive attempts at colonization of the Huguenots of the sixteenth century to illustrate this fact of leadership. They failed in Brazil and South Carolina, not because of the Portuguese

and Spaniards, but owing to the treachery of their French supporters. The Pilgrims were moved by a disentangled spirit, free from vagrant impulses, having a definite goal and determined to advance towards it in spite of all hazards. They were in quest of liberty and were ready to fight for it, and, if need be, die to secure it. They were crusaders to establish righteousness on virgin soil. So deep was their constancy and their loyalty to convictions that they were prepared to take great risks and to live dangerously in their purpose to obtain the cherished prize.

The cynic who declared that the Pilgrims went West because they had gone sour only exposed his ignorance and his inability to understand the sublime idealism which inspired these men of conscience to show conscientiousness in sacrificial dedication. To be sure, they had no perfection of character. There were sinister lapses and manifest defects in them no less than in the apostles of the early church. We need not crown them with artificial aureoles to recognize their intrinsic excellencies, nor need we confer on them faint praise or undisguised criticism to understand the limitations of their humanness. They belonged to the humble walks of life, without wealth or rank. We think of them as the Pilgrim Fathers because this title is suggestive of their work of originating a new order and not on account of their age, for most of them were under forty years of age. Therein lies, in no small measure, the genius of their courageous undertaking. It cannot be emphasized too much that the significance of this venture is spiritual. Their supreme purpose was to lay foundations "for ye propagating and advancing ye gospell of ye Kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea though they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for ye performing of so great a work."

The temper of these men is reflected in the letter of Robinson and Brewster to Sir Edwin Sandys relative to their scheme of colonization: "We are knit together, as a body, in a most strict and sacred Bond and Covenant of the Lord; of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we do hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good and of the whole by every one, and so mutually. It is not with us as with other men whom small things can discourage or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home again." The fact that not one of them showed any desire to return after they landed at Plymouth. in spite of the dire hardships and the large depletion of their numbers by death, is a glowing testimony to their "unconquerable spirit dedicated to an indestructible ideal." We must distinguish between the Pilgrims who were dissenters, mostly simple country folk, who settled in Plymouth, and the Puritans, many of whom belonged to the gentry and were men of wealth and influence, who came later and settled in Salem and Boston. When the Massachusetts Bay Colony took in the Plymouth Colony in 1691, there arose out of the merger a better economic, religious and social order, of a kind that was not anticipated by either body at the beginning. It must nevertheless be said to the credit of the Pilgrims that they were free from the intolerance and inquisitorial spirit of the Puritans, who, although possessed of academic culture, were lacking in the finer graces

of the former. Professor Hanscom's volume, The Heart of the Puritan, gives some choice selections from the writings of this early period, 1620 to 1758. What these devout men and women thought of religion and life can be far better understood from these well arranged extracts than from any description of historian or essayist.

John Robinson, a Cambridge graduate, a man of large scholarship and catholic tastes, was the pastor of the Pilgrims, first at Amsterdam and then at Leyden. In an age of controversy he was remarkably free from the spirit of bitterness and rancor, although greatly maligned and persecuted. Firm yet charitable, devoted yet tolerant, possessed of common sense and with a prophetic outlook, this saint and scholar, who died when he was about fifty, exercised an influence in the direction of Christian democracy which we only in recent times are beginning adequately to appreciate. His forward look and open mind were well shown in his farewell address to the Pilgrims, in which he declared that he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy Word. The Mayflower covenant contains the germs of democracy and this notable document reflects the training received by its signatories under Robinson. Indeed, the ideals which guided them were those exhibited and expounded by this extraordinary man, who was a veritable Galahad, and worthy of taking a place among the foremost apostles of Christianity. His Life, by Burgess, is a volume of exceptional ability, showing extensive original research and good judgment. He also removes many misconceptions. For instance, the reason why Robinson did not accompany the Pilgrims was not owing to ill-health but because his religious views had made him *persona non grata* with the London merchants who were helping to finance the venture. No student of this movement can neglect this substantial contribution which has permanent value and throws considerable new light on these men and their times.

Another work of historical research is by Usher on The Pilgrims and their History. It deals especially with the economic aspects of the movement, while also noting carefully the religious motives back of their great achievement in planting "the first permanent independent settlement in the New World, in which the initiative lay with the emigrants and not with capitalists or kings. They proved that a small body of men and women, without capital or resources, and without governmental support, could maintain themselves in New England from the product of their own labor on the soil of the country without systematic assistance from England." Other chapters on various phases of this unique accomplishment are "The Tares in the New English Canaan," "The Dominant Note at Plymouth," "Government and Administration," "Economic Privilege," "Social Life," "The Loss of Political Independence." When we are facing the problem of Christianizing life, it is well to consider this early experiment which, in spite of negative features, went far towards meeting the issues in a time of transition.

A popular account of this exodus to the land of promise is given by Carpenter in The Mayflower Pilgrims. It is written in a pleasant style

with numerous illustrations. The closing chapter, "The Plymouth of Today," scans the intervening years and briefly sketches some of the changes. The chapters on "The Pilgrim Press of Leyden," "Plymouth's Treaty with Massasoit," "Plymouth Encounters a Uriah Heep," "Home Life in Early Plymouth," lift the veil and take us behind the scenes with due ceremony. Altogether it is a readable and reliable book.

Twenty-nine women accompanied the Pilgrims and there were several children. It is fitting that their share in establishing the new standards of liberty should be commemorated. Glimpses of communal and family life, the endurance and sacrifice without discontent of the noble women, their influence for social and religious betterment—all this is finely described by Annie Russell Marble in The Women Who Came on the Mayflower. Not the least interesting parts of the book are the silhouettes of Mary Brewster, Rose Standish, Elizabeth Winslow, Mary Allerton, Katherine Carver, Humility Cooper, Elizabeth Hopkins, Priscilla Alden, Mary Chilton, Elizabeth Howland and several others. Very interesting is the account of what might be called the first Church Supper on Thanksgiving Day, when peace was made with the Indians and they sat down to a common meal with the Pilgrims. This is not a volume of fulsome eulogy, but of faithful testimony. "We would not assume that they were free from the whims and foibles of womankind—and sometimes of mankind—of all ages. They were, doubtless, contradictory and impulsive at times; they could scold and they could gossip. We believe that they laughed sometimes, in the midst of dire want and anxiety, and we know that they prayed with sincerity and trust."

The appeal to the heroic is vividly made by Tunnicliff in The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers. It is addressed to young people, but a great deal of it is interesting to older folks. The lights and shadows of the conspicuous events, as well as of many a minor but significant incident, are clearly limned by this literary artist on a large canvas and his picture is both distinct and well proportioned.

Another volume, also written for young folks but more advanced, is The Argonauts of Faith, by Mathews. He takes note of contemporary history and relates this epoch-making movement to the critical happenings of later years down to the present day. "The end of the voyage was only the beginning of the adventure." This latter is picturesquely delineated and the thrilling episodes quicken the reader.

It might well be said of the experiences of the Pilgrims that fact is stranger than fiction. It is, however, possible for one who has all the history well in hand and knows how to tell a good story, to write an excellent novel, giving the atmosphere of the times and bringing out the features of romance and tragedy. This is well done by Gregg in The Founding of a Nation. "The motif of the narrative is to have someone else besides the interested parties tell the story of the courage and hardships of these enduring people." A liberal cavalier is thus introduced and his recital, written in the form of a journal of his experiences, gives the impressions of an outsider. The romance of Laura Brewster, daughter of

the elder, and Francis Beaumont the cavalier, is given a large setting and the interest is sustained to the end. In a Foreword, Gregg clears away some popular misconceptions about the Pilgrims and the Puritans.

Yet another book must be mentioned as adding further particulars. It is A Loiterer in New England, by Helen W. Henderson. Several chapters are devoted to the Pilgrims and the rest of the book contains a series of travel sketches of places of importance set in their historical background. There are over a hundred excellent illustrations of New England scenes. This book will help the reader to realize the progress made during these three hundred years and how well the foundations were laid by the seers and saints of the heroic past.

Our legacy is a rich one, not to be lived upon but to be enriched, as the spirit of the Pilgrims working in us leads us to fulfill our responsibility towards hastening the coming of the new heaven and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

Between Two Worlds. .The New Day and the Old Questions. By JOHN HESTON WILLEY. 12mo, pp. 160. New York: Association Press. Price, $1.25.

HASTY conclusions based on superficial evidence always produce confusion. Even a text of Scripture cannot be regarded as giving finality to an argument unless it is used with reference to the context. Literalistic interpreters of the Bible are misleading because they do not distinguish between the poetry and the prose of the sacred writings. They use these two types of the literary style as though there was no difference. Such advocates are pushed hard when they try to reconcile contradictions and inconsistencies, which exist, if their theory of literalism is correct, but which disappear when the Bible is regarded as the record of the progressive unfolding of God's will. Those who discount the place of reason in religion are equally confused in their conceptions and they often meet argument with assertion.

These reflections are suggested by Dr. Willey's volume. He shows a firm grasp of the fundamentals and realizes that they must be interpreted from many points of view. His optimistic views about the future of the Christian religion are founded on accurate study of the progress made during the centuries. Some eminent men like Dr. Charles Gore have recently fallen into pessimistic ways of thinking. It is difficult to understand how he can bring himself to make the statement: "Nor can I feel sure that the world is not, over a large area of its life, going to reject Christ." Dr. Willey takes a more sober view of the situation. "The late war was a World War because the Christian world will not tolerate the barbarism and the diabolism of the stone age in the twentieth century." The chapter on "The Second Coming of Christ" is in harmony with the whole teaching of Scripture and with the facts of history. "Jesus is coming every day in all the uplift and philanthropies and altruisms of the age. And if he shall come in person some other day, to usher in a glorious

millennium, it will be the crown and climax to the present dispensation and not to correct the mistakes and atone for the shortcomings of the gracious Spirit of God."

The quiet reasonableness of this little volume is reassuring as it reckons with science, philosophy and literature in the exposition of some of the strategic truths of Christianity. Those who wish to know what the spiritual thinkers of the church understand concerning the vital issues can find it in these pages. We must take time and give thought before we can arrive at a satisfactory determination. Dr. George A. Gordon touches on one of the weaknesses of our day in his volume, Humanism in New England Theology. "This age is characterized by a strong aversion to severe thinking. Immediacy has become a habit, perhaps a disease. Today whatever cannot be understood in the twinkling of an eye is generally regarded with aversion. An indescribable pettiness, a mean kind of retail trade, has largely taken possession of the teachers of religion." Dr. Willey's volume proves him to be an exception. The discussion of immortality and sin provokes thought and the chapter on The Great Adventure opens up large vistas into the glory of the future made luminous by Christ. "When Christ is manifested in our life, when time takes on the complexion of eternity, when we live in the light of the hereafter, life glows with a new meaning. Just as the sun at eventime, when off down the west making a new day in some far-off land, touches with pink and gold and pearl the mountain peaks about us, so the light shining out of the land which is unseen but toward which our face is turned, will gild with splendor the upper ranges of life; and if we stand high enough we may even see the sun himself, though he has already had his setting for the valley." Follow this writer as he climbs the summits and your vision will become clear while looking out upon an extended horizon. This is the qualification most needed to guide us onward to the City of our God.

A READING COURSE

A Commentary on the Bible. Edited by Arthur S. Peake, M.A., D.D., with the assistance for the New Testament of A. J. Grieve, M.A., D.D. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons. Price, $4.

Biblical learning has made wonderful progress in recent years. The message and authority of the Bible have received a richer meaning, and the value of the divine revelation, contained in the sacred oracles, can now be estimated and appreciated more fully. It is a great advantage to be able to study the Bible like other books and to test it by standards applied to the world's literature. Such a comparison makes forcibly clear that the Bible has a distinctiveness far superior to all the sacred books of the ethnic faiths. It further offers an urgent appeal to us to become comprehensively familiar with its unique teachings which have a special significance to the life of our day. The truth of a progressive revelation can be understood only as we take note of the historical background and

deal with the language and the thought of the Scripture in their context. The claims made by the Bible on its own account are thus seen to be far more exacting than many of our inherited notions led us to suppose. Its service in the making of human life is found to be more thorough and its ministry more effective. The call for Bible preaching is not made by those with a narrow vision but by those who realize that, when this literature is interpreted in the light of all history, its message touches every aspect of our complex life.

The average preacher has access only to a limited range of books, so that he must be quite choice in his selection of the best. Each generation, moreover, must do its own thinking, and in a deep sense each generation must have its own literature. Take the case of Bible commentaries and we must acknowledge that the able scholarship of a former day is more or less obsolete. What a radical change has been produced by the investigations of archæologists and grammarians concerning the language of the New Testament, and what considerable light has been thrown on the conditions and customs of ancient times, which bear on biblical history! This knowledge must be used in interpreting the Bible, and interpretation is one of our greatest needs. A new commentary will not necessarily discount the older commentaries which rendered valuable service and within limits will still continue so to do. But we must keep abreast of the best scholarship and knowledge of our own day, if there is to be freshness and pertinency in our preaching of the eternal truth of God.

To this end a new commentary is welcome and it is here furnished by Dr. Peake and his sixty associates, all of high standing and undisputed ability. The text is not treated by verses but by paragraphs which deal with the thought of each section as a whole. Where necessary words and phrases are explained so as to bring out the meaning of the particular passage. No problem is evaded, but no attempt is made to solve every problem. For instance, Principal Bennett in his commentary on 1 and 2 Samuel, says, "It must be understood that all our statements as to derivation of sections from sources are largely approximate. When a section is said to be early that does not exclude the possibility of its having been to some extent annotated or modified by later editors; and when a section is said to be late, that does not mean that a late writer sat down and made it all up out of his own head; he usually worked on the basis of older material, and it may often happen that phrases or sentences from ancient documents are preserved verbatim in late sections." This is the standpoint of all the writers, who accept the Bible as a living book and not a volume of dogmatic theology. Another writes: "Welcome or unwelcome, the views that scholars hold today all differ from the Bible story taken literally. It will be least confusing to take by itself the view that on the whole commends itself most." The literalistic interpretation of the Bible is simply out of the question and those who persist in it are flying in the face of inevitable facts. The fallacies of Premillennialism, for instance, are the logical outcome of a wrong conception of the spirit and genius of the Bible revelation. The same is true of other heresies which

are not to be merely denounced but to be exposed by a deeper study of the whole truth, which they hold only in part. The modern attitude is well stated by Principal Griffith-Jones in the article on "The Bible, Its Meaning and Aim." Read carefully what it says about authority, revelation, inspiration, and you will see that the Bible, as treated by modern scholars, is, in a profound sense, "the fountain of spiritual inspiration and religious renewal," and that "its revelation of God to man, and of man to himself as the subject of a divine redemption flowing from the Person and Cross of Christ, will continue to shine forth with an undimmed and ever-growing luster." On the creative influence of the Bible, as the highest type of literature, read the article by Professor W. H. Hudson on "The Bible as Literature."

There are twenty special articles on various questions relating to the Old Testament and sixteen articles pertaining to the New Testament. They not only give a setting to the Bible but help us to get the atmosphere in which these various writings were produced. "The Languages of the Old Testament," by Professor G. A. Cooke; "The Development of Old Testament Literature," by Dr. Peake; "The Nations Contemporary with Israel," by Professor Bedale; "The Religion of Israel," by Professor W. G. Jordan; " The Religious Institutions of Israel," by Professor O. C. Whitehouse; "The Social Institutions of Israel," by Professor W. J. Moulton; "Hebrew Wisdom," by Principal W. T. Davison; "Old Testament Prophecy," by Principal G. C. Joyce; "Apocalyptic Literature," by Professor H. T. Andrews; "The Language of the New Testament," by J. H. Moulton; "The Development of New Testament Literature," by Professor James Moffatt; "Jewish History from the Maccabees to the Destruction of Jerusalem," by Professor H. M. Gwatkin; "The Roman Empire in the First Century," by Professor F. J. Haverfield; "Contemporary Jewish Religion," by Claude G. Montefiore; "Pagan Religion at the Coming of Christ," by Professor Gilbert G. Murray; "The Religious Background of the New Testament Writings," by Professor J. V. Bartlet; "Organisation, Church Meetings, Discipline, Social and Ethical Problems," by Professor Peake; "The Synoptic Problem," by B. H. Streeter; "The Apostolic Age and the Life of Paul," by C. W. Emmet; "The Pauline Theology," by Professor H. A. A. Kennedy. We can only mention these titles without attempting to discuss the articles. It was to be expected that there would be differences of opinion on many questions, but each writer was allowed freedom. The editors have, however, added notes in further explanation or to present different conclusions, with the result that the whole volume has proportion, reliability and fullness. "A commentary," said Dr. Johnson, "must arise from the fortuitous discoveries of many men in devious walks of literature." The unity of scholarship is seen not only in the introductory articles but in the commentaries on the several books of the Bible, which in their way are masterpieces, in that they emphasize only relevant questions, without any attempt to discuss the minutiæ of criticism or exposition.

In his Yale lectures on The Preacher, His Life and Work, Dr. J. H.

Jowett recommends young preachers, amid all their reading, to be always engaged in the comprehensive study of some one book of the Bible. This advice can advantageously be followed with the help of this volume. After you decide which book to study, first read it through as a whole, then turn to the introductory articles bearing on it, and finally read the commentary. Such a method diligently followed week by week will so enrich you that your pulpit work will be of a high order of excellence. You may doubtless disagree with some of the statements. That is a sign that you are thinking. Do not be alarmed at what might seem to be extreme views. Use your judgment and weigh the evidence and then draw your own conclusions. The purpose of a commentary is to suggest interpretations and furnish seed thoughts. "Often the best service to the ordinary reader is to save him from a false or fanciful exegesis by pointing out the true state of a passage whose meaning is uncertain." But in innumerable instances, many difficulties are removed, and the sidelights are among the most valuable features in this volume. You will do well to cultivate the attitude of mental reserve and hold back your judgment until more facts are obtained. Dr. Sanday, in his latest volume entitled, Divine Overruling, acknowledges that "our method of theological study in the past has been too predominantly dogmatic. We are still too apt to interpret the Bible as if it were a code of law, as if the object to be sought were always of the nature of a legal definition—This thou shalt say, or This thou shalt do, or That thou shalt not do. And then there is the further misfortune that, if we apply that method to the positive construction of our beliefs, it is only natural that we should apply the same method to the criticism of them: our constant attitude is one of affirming or denying, acceptance or rejection." The better way of arriving at truth is finely illustrated by this Commentary, and if its method is followed, the pulpit will certainly exercise a far greater influence and command a hearing to which it is entitled because of its definite message. The preaching values of such a volume as this Commentary are incalculable. When it is remembered that the preacher is also a teacher, how could he discharge his mission, unless he gives himself to study, not of homiletical helps, which is like predigested food, but of independent aids which stimulate thought and promote research and lead to a more firm grasp of the eternal verities? He must, above all things, be free from hysteria, impatience, rashness, and have the spirit of calmness, impartiality, intensity, due to his confidence in the ever increasing growth of knowledge and in the ultimate triumph of the saving truth in Jesus Christ.

Side Reading

The very full bibliographies in the different sections of this Commentary offer guidance to those who desire to make a larger study of questions of interest.

For information about books on subjects of interest to preachers, address this department, *Reading Course*, care of the *Methodist Review*, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

INDEX

A

A Son of a Prophet: Is Preaching Futile? (Arena), 971.
Adams: A New Soldier Poet, 83.
After Christ? Was Paul the: *Faulkner, J. A.*, 572.
Alan Seeger's Mexico: *Murray*, 91.
Americanization, Christian: *Pearce*, 410.
Apocalyptic Literature (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 973.
Approximate Equivalents in Religion: *Warren*, 864.
Archæology, The Outlook in (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 128.
Asbury, The Humor of Francis: *Haines*, 776.
Aspects of Current Thought on the Reunion of the Churches (For. Out.), 648.

B

Babel and Bible: *Elliott* (Notes and Dis.), 639.
Balch: The Social Gospel According to John, 927.
Bashford, James Whitford: Missionary: *Soper*, 175.
Baxter: The Divine Law of Recuperation (Arena), 125.
"Being Pictures is Better than Buying Pictures": *Evans* (Arena), 309.
Bible and the Child, The: *Wilm*, 44.
Bible, Babel and: *Elliott* (Notes and Dis.), 639.
Bible Estimate of Woman, The: *Briggs*, 879.
Bible, Who Wrote the? *McCrea* (Arena), 805.
"Bignitaries" on Vacation: *Warrick*, 604.
Bishop Matthew Simpson Hughes: *Hughes*, 673.
Bishop's Adventure, The: An Old Mother's Sure Cure for Baldness: *Stidger*, 285.
Bit of Irony, A: *A Periodical Reader* (Arena), 456.
Boggess: The Old Testament in Longfellow's Poems, 263.
Book Concern, The, in the Coming Years: *Downey*, 934.
Book that Made American Methodism, The: *Telford*, 197.
Book-Town, The Conquest of: *Elliott* (Notes and Dis.), 968.
Boswell's Johnson, Sidelights on John Wesley from: *Gillies*, 22.
Brawley: Wycliffe and the World War, 231.
Briggs: The Bible Estimate of Woman, 879.
Brightman: The Personalistic Method in Philosophy, 368.
Brown: Democracy To-day (Notes and Dis.), 304.
Buck: The Eleventh Hour, 403.
Buckley, James Monroe: *Eckman*, 341.
Buckley, James Monroe: *Kelley* (Notes and Dis.), 438.
Buried Bible, The: *Elliott* (Notes and Dis.), 803.
Byron, the Revolutionist: *Lockwood*, 220.

C

Cadman: The Tercentennial of the Mayflower, 855.
Canada, Sweet Singers of: *Clemen*, 610.
Canon Barnes on the Fall of Man (For. Out.), 979.
Captains in the New Crusade: *Elliott* (Notes and Dis.), 636.
Central Europe, The Problem of Methodism in (For. Out.), 134.
Child, The Bible and the: *Wilm*, 44.
Child, The Church and the: *Wilm*, 588.
Childhood Religion: *Cook*, 748.
Christian Americanization: *Pearce*, 410.
Church and the Child, The: *Wilm*, 588.
Colgrove: Fanny Crosby in our Hymnal (Arena), 643.
College and Modern Socialisms, The: *Storms*, 729.
Conquest of Book-Town, The: *Elliott* (Notes and Dis.), 968.
Cook: Childhood Religion, 748.
Cooke: Is a Bishop a Member of an Annual Conference? 736.
Cooley: The Phantom of Death, 434.
Course of Study, The: *Huse* (Arena), 806.
Craig: A Study in Transition—The Epistle to the Hebrews, 919.
Crew: The Scientific Leadership of the World, 95.
Crusade, Captains in the New: *Elliott* (Notes and Dis.), 636.

D

Day: The Workingman's Foes, 30.
Dead Masters of Life, The: *Quayle*, 359.
Dealing with the Unspeakable Crime: *Roberts*, 770.
Death, The Phantom of: *Cooley*, 434.
Democracy, Education and: *Lockwood*, 780.
Democracy To-day: *Brown* (Notes and Dis.), 304.
Divine Democracy, The, *Elliott* (Notes and Dis.), 959.
Divine Law of Recuperation, The: *Baxter* (Arena), 125.
Downey: The Book Concern in the Coming Years, 934.

E

Eckman: James Monroe Buckley, 341.
Editorial Salutation, An: *Elliott* (Notes and Dis.), 631.
Education and Democracy: *Lockwood*, 780.
Education, Present Tendencies in Religious: *Meyer*, 381.
Eiselen: Israel's Unique Contribution to True Religion, 542.
Eleventh Hour, The: *Buck*, 403.
Elliott: An Editorial Salutation (Notes and Dis.), 631.
Elliott: Captains in the New Crusade (Notes and Dis.), 636.
Elliott: Holiness and Happiness (Notes and Dis.), 966.
Elliott: Personality in Preaching (Notes and Dis.), 798.
Elliott: The Buried Bible (Notes and Dis.), 803.
Elliott: The Conquest of Book-Town (Notes and Dis.), 968.
Elliott: The Divine Democracy (Notes and Dis.), 959.
Elliott: The King and the Kings—An Advent Meditation (Notes and Dis.), 957.
Elliott: The Master and the Broken Reed (Notes and Dis.), 641.
Elliott: The Old and the New (Notes and Dis.), 963.
Elliott: The Primacy of Life Our Doctrine (Notes and Dis.), 795.

Elliott: The Woman's Kingdom (Notes and Dis.), 941.
Elliott: Theology—A Progressive Science (Notes and Dis.), 799.
Emancipated Church in Germany, The (For. Out.), 317.
Epworth League, The, A Success or a Failure? *Quimby*, 278.
"Eternal Irish Problem, The": *Lee*, 52.
Ethics, Keeping God in: *Kirk*, 598.
Ethics of Ridicule, The, II: *Kelley* (Notes and Dis.), 109.
Evangelism, Our: *Scott*, 272.
Evangelism, Pastoral: *Talbott*, 63.
Evans: "Being Pictures is Better than Buying Pictures" (Arena), 309.

F

Fall of Man, Canon Barnes on the (For. Out.), 979.
Fanny Crosby in Our Hymnal: *Colgrove* (Arena), 643.
Farley: Two Old Men, 699.
Father Edmond to St. Mary Magdalen: *Warren* (Arena), 647.
Faulkner, J. A.: Some High Church Misinformation (Arena), 122.
Faulkner, J. A.: Was Paul the After Christ? 572.
Forgiveness, the Law of (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 807.
Four Remarkable Men: *Hough*, 395.
Friedrich Heiler and the Newer Tendencies in the History of Religion (For. Out.), 978.

G

George Eliot, A Note on: *Vincent*, 712.
Germany, The Emancipated Church in (For. Out.), 317.
Germany, The Republic of: *Warren*, 188.
Gillies: Sidelights on John Wesley from Boswell's Johnson, 22.
Great Adventure, Roosevelt on the: *Kelley* (Notes and Dis.), 301.

H

Haines: The Humor of Francis Asbury, 776.
Hammell: The Religious Opinions and Life of George Frederic Watts, 103.
Handy: The Short Story and the Preacher (Arena), 457.
Hanson: Nemesis in Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter," 71.
Haskins: Modern Preaching (Arena), 645.
Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter," Nemesis in: *Hanson*, 71.
Hayes: The Romance of Pastoral Work, 415.
Hebrews, The Epistle to the—A Study in Transition: *Craig*, 919.
Hecker: The Religious Characteristics of the Russian Soul, 897.
Heiler, Friedrich, and the Newer Tendencies in the History of Religion (For. Out.), 978.
High Church Misinformation, Some: *Faulkner, J. A.* (Arena), 122.
Holiness and Happiness: *Elliott* (Notes and Dis.), 966.
Honest Doubts, The Minister with: The Case of Thomas: *Robertson*, 425.
Hough: Four Remarkable Men, 395.
Hughes: Bishop Matthew Simpson Hughes, 673.
Humor of Francis Asbury, The: *Haines*, 776.
Huse: The Course of Study (Arena), 806.

I

"Irish Problem, The Eternal": *Lee*, 52.
Irony, A Bit of: *A Periodical Reader* (Arena), 456.
Is a Bishop a Member of an Annual Conference? *Cooke*, 736.
Is Preaching Futile? *A Son of a Prophet* (Arena), 971.
Israel's Unique Contribution to True Religion: *Eiselen*, 542.

J

James Monroe Buckley: *Eckman*, 341.
James Russell Lowell: *Townsend*, 763.
James Whitford Bashford: Missionary: *Soper*, 175.
Jews and Prophecy, The Restoration of Palestine to the (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 651.
John Heyl Vincent—A Sketch: *Vincent*, 839.
John, The Social Gospel According to: *Balch*, 927.
Joseph: Sight and Insight, 945.
Joseph: Values and Valuation, 253.
Judas Iscariot (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 466.

K

Keeping God in Ethics: *Kirk*, 598.
Kelley: James Monroe Buckley (Notes and Dis.), 438.
Kelley: Roosevelt on the Great Adventure (Notes and Dis.), 301.
Kelley: Shyness (Notes and Dis.), 291.
Kelley: The Ethics of Ridicule, II (Notes and Dis.), 109.
Kelley: The Resignation of Dr. (Notes and Dis.), 627.
King, The, and the Kings: *Elliott* (Notes and Dis.), 957.
Kipling's World Message: *Dixon*, 525.

L

Lambeth and Geneva (For. Out.), 980.
Law of Forgiveness, The (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 807.
Leadership of the World, The Scientific: *Crew*, 95.
Lee: "The Eternal Irish Problem," 52.
Lewis: The Making of "The Ring and the Book," 237.
Libby: Office or Study? 622.
Liberty of Teaching in Our Schools of Theology: *Wood*, 938.
Lockwood: Byron, the Revolutionist, 220.
Lockwood: Education and Democracy, 780.
Longfellow's Poems, The Old Testament in: *Boggess*, 263.
Lowell, James Russell, *Townsend*, 763.
Luttrell: Sanity of the American People (Arena), 460.

M

Making of "The Ring and the Book," The: *Lewis*, 237.
Master and the Broken Reed, The: *Elliott* (Notes and Dis.), 641.
Mayflower, The: *Willey*, 557.
McCrea: Who Wrote the Bible? (Arena), 805.
McIntyre: "The Society of Colonial Wars," 507.
Methodism and Premillennialism: *Rall*, 209.
Methodism in Central Europe, The Problem of (For. Out.), 134.
Methodism, The Book that Made American: *Telford*, 197.
Mexico, Alan Seeger's: *Murray*, 91.
Meyer: Present Tendencies in Religious Education, 381.
Minister With Honest Doubts, The: The Case of Thomas, *Robertson*, 425.
Miracles: *Stone* (Arena), 311.

Misinformation, Some High Church: *Faulkner, J. A.* (Arena), 122.
Modern Preaching: *Haskins* (Arena), 645.
Murray: Alan Seeger's Mexico, 91.

N

Nature, Spiritual Hints from: *Walker*, 583.
Nemesis in Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter": *Hanson*, 71.
New Poetry, The: *Winchester*, 9.
New Soldier Poet, A: *Adams*, 83.
Norton: Party, 723.
Note on George Eliot, A: *Vincent*, 712.

O

Office or Study? *Libby*, 622.
Old and the New, The: *Elliott* (Notes and Dis.), 963.
Old Testament in Longfellow's Poems, The: *Boggess*, 263.
Our Evangelism: *Scott*, 272.
Outlook in Archæology, The: (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 128.

P

Palestine, The Restoration of to the Jews, and Prophecy (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 651.
Party: *Norton*, 723.
Pastor in His Study, The: *Wyrick* (Arena), 314.
Pastoral Evangelism: *Talbott*, 63.
Pastoral Work, The Romance of: *Hayes*, 415.
Pearce: Christian Americanization, 410.
Personalistic Method in Philosophy, The: *Brightman*, 368.
Personality in Preaching: *Elliott* (Notes and Dis.), 798.
Phantom of Death, The: *Cooley*, 434.
Place of the Will in Religion, The: *Wilson*, 687.
Poetry, The New: *Winchester*, 9.
Porter: Wesley, A Forerunner of Social Reform, 908.
Premillennialism, Methodism and: *Rall*, 209.
Present Tendencies in Religious Education: *Meyer*, 381.
Primacy of Life Our Doctrine, The: *Elliott* (Notes and Dis.), 795.
Problem of Methodism in Central Europe, The (For. Out.), 134.

Q

Quayle: The Dead Masters of Life, 350.
Quimby: The Epworth League, A Success or a Failure? 278.

R

Rall: Methodism and Premillennialism, 209.
"Recuperation, The Divine Law of": *Baxter* (Arena), 125.
Religious Opinions and Life of George Frederic Watts, The: *Hammell*, 103.
Remarkable Men, Four: *Hough*, 395.
Republic of Germany, The: *Warren*, 188.
Resignation of Dr. Kelley, The, (Notes and Dis.), 627.
Restoration of Palestine to the Jews and Prophecy, The (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 651.
Reunion of the Churches, Aspects of Current Thought on the (For. Out.), 648.
Ridicule, The Ethics of: *Kelley* (Notes and Dis.), 109.
Ring and the Book," The Making of "The: *Lewis*, 237.
Roberts: Dealing With the Unspeakable Crime, 770.
Robertson: The Minister with Honest Doubts: The Case of Thomas, 425.
Romance of Pastoral Work, The: *Hayes*, 415.
Roosevelt on the Great Adventure: *Kelley* (Notes and Dis.), 301.
Russian Soul, The Religious Characteristics of the: *Hecker*, 897.

S

Sanday, William (For. Out.), 979.
Sanity of the American People, The: *Luttrell* (Arena), 460.
Scientific Leadership of the World, The: *Crew*, 95.
Scott: Our Evangelism, 272.
Short Story and the Preacher, The: *Handy* (Arena), 457.
Shyness: *Kelley* (Notes and Dis.), 291.
Sidelights on John Wesley from Boswell's Johnson: *Gillies*, 22.
Sight and Insight: *Joseph*, 945.
Social Gospel, The, According to John: *Balch*, 927.
Social Reform, Wesley, A Forerunner of: *Porter*, 908.
Socialisms, The College and Modern: *Storms*, 729.
"Society of Colonial Wars, The": *McIntyre*, 507.
Soldier Poet, A New: *Adams*, 83.
Some High Church Misinformation: *Faulkner, J. A.* (Arena), 122.
Soper: James Whitford Bashford: Missionary, 175.
Spiritual Hints from Nature: *Walker*, 583.
Stidger: The Bishop's Adventure: An Old Mother's Sure Cure for Baldness, 285.
Stone: Miracles (Arena), 311.
Storms: The College and Modern Socialisms, 729.
Strasbourg, The University of (For. Out.), 462.
Study in Transition, A—The Epistle to the Hebrews: *Craig*, 919.
Sweet Singers of Canada: *Clemen*, 610.

T

Talbott: Pastoral Evangelism, 63.
Teaching in Our Schools of Theology, Liberty of: *Wood*, 938.
Telford: The Book that Made American Methodism, 197.
Tercentennial of the Mayflower, The: *Cadman*, 855.
Theological Literature in War-Time (For. Out.), 465.
Theology—A Progressive Science: *Elliott*, (Notes and Dis.), 790.
To St. Mary Magdalen: *Warren* (Arena), 647.
Townsend: James Russell Lowell, 763.

U

University of Strasbourg, The (For. Out.), 462.
Unspeakable Crime, Dealing with the: *Roberts*, 770.

V

Vacation, "Bignitaries" on: *Warrick*, 604.
Values and Valuations: *Joseph*, 253.
Vincent: A Note on George Eliot, 712.
Vincent: John Heyl Vincent—A Sketch, 839.

W

Walker: Spiritual Hints from Nature, 583.
War-Time, Theological Literature in (For. Out.), 465.
Warren: Approximate Equivalents in Religion, 864.

Warren: Father Edmond to St. Mary Magdalen, 647.
Warren: The Republic of Germany, 188.
Warrick: "Dignitaries" on Vacation, 604.
Was Paul the After Christ? *Faulkner, J. A.*, 572.
Watts, The Religious Opinions and Life of George Frederic: *Hammill*, 103.
Wesley, A Forerunner of Social Reform: *Porter*, 908.
Whitlock: Who were the Habiri? (Arena), 971.
Who were the Habiri? *Whitlock* (Arena), 971.
Who Wrote the Bible? *McCrea* (Arena), 805.
Will in Religion, The Place of the: *Wilson*, 687.
Willey: The Mayflower, 557.
William Sanday (For. Out.), 979.
Wilm: The Bible and the Child, 44.
Wilm: The Church and the Child, 588.
Wilson: The Place of the Will in Religion, 687.
Winchester: The New Poetry, 9.
Woman's Kingdom, The: *Elliott* (Notes and Dis.), 961.
Woman, The Bible Estimate of: *Briggs*, 879.
Wood: Liberty of Teaching in Our Schools of Theology, 938.
Workingman's Foes, The: *Day*, 30.
World War, Wycliffe and the: *Brawley*, 231.
Wycliffe and the World War: *Brawley*, 231.
Wyrick: The Pastor in his Study (Arena), 314.

BOOK NOTICES

A

Along the Friendly Way: *Ludlow*, 143.
Alpha of the Plough: Leaves in the Wind, 321.
Altruism, Its Nature and Varieties: *Palmer*, 170.
Ambassadors of God: *Cadman*, 669.
American Men, Religion Among: *Committee*, Ed., 337.
Apocalypse of John, The: *Beckwith*, 985.
Approaches Toward Church Unity: *Smyth* and *Walker*, Eds., 664.
Archbishops' Committees of Inquiry, Reports of the, 164.
Army and Religion, The: *Cairns*, 337.

B

Bailey and *Kent:* History of the Hebrew Commonwealth, 832.
Barnett, Canon: *Barnett*, 498.
Beckwith: The Apocalypse of John, 985.
Begbie: The Life of General William Booth, 817.
Beginnings of Christianity, The. Part I. The Acts of the Apostles: *Jackson* and *Lake*, Eds., 813.
Between Two Worlds: *Willey*, 1000.
Bible, A Commentary on the: *Peake*, 1001.
Bishop, Ed.: Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children, 492.
Books on Pilgrims and Puritans: *Joseph*, 996.
Booth, The Life of General William: *Begbie*, 817.
Boreham: A Bunch of Everlastings, 822.
Brawley: Books on the Negro Question, 994.
Brown: The Story Books of the Early Hebrews, 335.
Bunch of Everlastings, A: *Boreham*, 822.

C

Cadbury: National Ideals in the Old Testament, 832.
Cadman: Ambassadors of God, 669.
Cairns: The Army and Religion, 337.
Canon Barnett: *Barnett*, 498
Cardinal Mercier's Own Story: *Mercier*, 824.
Christian Doctrine of Faith, The: *Hastings*, Ed., 657.
Christian Religion in the Study and in the Street, The: *Moulton*, 167.
Christian Unity, Pathways to, A Free Church View, 664.
Christian Year in Human Story, The: *Stoddard*, 820.
Christianity in the Modern World, The Spread of: *Moore*, 506, 989.
Church We Forget, The: *Wilson*, 485.
Citizenship, The Principles of: *Jones*, 173.

D

Daybreak Everywhere: *Locke*, 483.
Disease and the Remedy of Sin, The: *Mackay*, 823.
Dominus Noster: *Scott*, 159.
Donald Hankey, Letters of: *Miller*, 826.

E

Eckman: The Return of the Redeemer, 982.
Essentials of Evangelism: *Joseph*, 838.
Evangelism in the Remaking of the World: *Leonard*, 659.

F

Faith, The Christian Doctrine of: *Hastings*, Ed., 657.

G

Galloway: The Idea of Immortality, 162.
George Fox, The Story of, *Jones*, 829.
Gore: The Epistle of Saint John, 987.
Gospel and the New World, The: *Speer*, 506.
Graham: Religion and Intellect, 488.
Grant: The Orient in Bible Times, 832.
Grammar of New Testament Greek, A: *Moulton*, 489.
Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research, A: *Robertson*, 489.
Greek, A Grammar of New Testament: *Moulton*, 489.
Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research, A Grammar of the: *Robertson*, 489.
Greek Testament, The Vocabulary of the: *Moulton* and *Milligan*, Part III., 490.
Grenfell: A Labrador Doctor, 501.

H

Hastings, Ed.: The Christian Doctrine of Faith, 657.
Hebrew Commonwealth, History of the: *Bailey* and *Kent*, 832.
History of the Hebrew Commonwealth: *Bailey* and *Kent*, 832.
Hocking: Human Nature and its Remaking, 156.
Hodges: How to Know the Bible, 335.
Hodgkin: Lay Religion, 486.
Home—Then What? *American Soldiers*, 340.
How to Know the Bible: *Hodges*, 335.
Human Nature and its Remaking: *Hocking*, 156.
Hutchins: The Religious Experience of Israel, 335.

I

Idea of Immortality, The: *Galloway*, 162.
Immortality, The Idea of: *Galloway*, 162.
Inge: Outspoken Essays, 494.
Intellect, Religion and: *Graham*, 488.
Israel, The Religious Experience of: *Hutchins*, 335.

J

Jackson and *Lake*, Eds.: The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I. The Acts of the Apostles, 813.
James Hope Moulton: *Moulton*, 167.

Jefferson: What the War Has Taught Us, 340.
Jones: A Service of Love in War Time, 829.
Jones: Studies in Mystical Religion, 838.
Jones: The Lord of Life and Death, 992.
Jones: The Principles of Citizenship, 173.
Jones: The Story of George Fox, 829.
Joseph: Books on the Pilgrims and Puritans, 996.
Joseph: Essentials of Evangelism, 838.
Joseph: Freedom and Advance, 332.

K

Kelman: Thoughts on Things Eternal, 473.
Kent and *Bailey:* History of the Hebrew Commonwealth, 832.

L

Labrador Doctor, A: *Grenfell*, 501.
Lake and *Jackson*, Eds.: The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I. The Acts of the Apostles, 813.
Lay Religion: *Hodgkin*, 486.
Leaves in the Wind: *Alpha of the Plough*, 321.
Leonard: Evangelism in the Remaking of the World, 659.
Letters of Charles Sorley, The, 826.
Letters of Donald Hankey, The: *Miller*, 826.
Life of General William Booth, The: *Begbie*, 817
Locke: Daybreak Everywhere, 483.
Lord of Life and Death, The: *Jones*, 992.
Ludlow: Along the Friendly Way, 143.

M

Mackay: The Disease and the Remedy of Sin, 823.
Mains: Premillennialism, 982.
McLeod: "Songs in the Night," 137.
Miller: Letters of Donald Hankey, 826.
Milligan and *Moulton:* The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, Part III, 490.
Ministry of the Word, The: *Morgan*, 659.
Missionary Outlook in the Light of the War, The: *Committee*, Ed., 503.
Modern Premillennialism and the Christian's Hope: *Rall*, 982.
Moore: The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World, 506, 989.
Moore: West and East, 989.
Morgan: The Ministry of the Word, 659.
Moulton: A Grammar of New Testament Greek, 489.
Moulton: A Neglected Sacrament, 167.
Moulton: James Hope Moulton, 167.
Moulton and *Milligan:* The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, Part III, 490.
Moulton: Religions and Religion, 838.
Moulton: The Christian Religion in the Study and in the Street, 167.
My Generation: *Tucker*, 496.
Mystical Religion, Studies in: *Jones*, 838.

N

National Ideals in the Old Testament: *Cadbury*, 832.
Neglected Sacrament, A: *Moulton*, 167.
Negro Question, Books on the: *Brawley*, 994.

O

Orient in Bible Times, The: *Grant*, 832.
Outspoken Essays: *Inge*, 494.

P

Palmer: Altruism, Its Nature and Varieties, 170.
Pantheistic Dilemmas, and Other Essays in Philosophy and Religion: *Sheldon*, 830.
Pathways to Christian Unity. A Free Church View, 664.
Peake: A Commentary on the Bible. 1001.
Pilgrims and Puritans, Books on the: *Joseph*, 996.
Premillennialism: *Mains*, 982.
Pratt: The Religious Consciousness, 834.

R

Rall: Modern Premillennialism and the Christian's Hope, 982.
Reading Course, A, 170, 337, 503, 669, 834, 1004.
Religion Among American Men: *Committee*, Ed., 337.
Religion and Intellect: *Graham*, 488.
Religion, The Army and: *Cairns*, 337.
Religion and Religions: *Moulton*, 838.
Religious Consciousness, The: *Pratt*, 834.
Religious Experience of Israel: *Hutchins*, 335.
Reports of the Archbishops' Committee of Inquiry, 164.
Return of the Redeemer, The: *Eckman*, 982.
Reunion, Towards: *Contributors*, 664.
Roberts: That One Face, 159.
Robertson: A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research, 489.
Roosevelt's Letters to His Children, Theodore: *Bishop*, Ed., 492.

S

Saint John, The Epistles of: *Gore*, 987.
St. Paul, The Life and Letters of: *Smith*, 666.
Scott: Dominus Noster, 159.
Service of Love in War Time, A: *Jones*, 829.
Sheldon: Pantheistic Dilemmas, and other Essays in Philosophy and Religion, 830.
Sin, The Disease and the Remedy of: *Mackay*, 823.
Smith: The Life and Letters of St. Paul, 666.
Smyth, Ed.: Approaches Toward Church Unity, 664.
Social Christianity in the New Era: *Tiplady*, 173.
"Songs in the Night": *McLeod*, 137.
Sorley, The Letters of Charles, 826.
Spirit, The: *Streeter*, 661.
Spread of Christianity in the Modern World, The: *Moore*, 506.
Stoddart: The Christian Year in Human Story, 820.
Story Books of the Early Hebrews, The: *Brown*, 335.
Story of George Fox, The: *Jones*, 829.
Streeter: The Spirit, 661.

T

That One Face: *Roberts*, 159.
Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children: *Bishop*, Editor, 492.
Thoughts on Things Eternal: *Kelman*, 473.
Tiplady: Social Christianity in the New Era, 173.
Towards Reunion: *Contributors*, 664.
Tucker: My Generation, 496.

U

Unity, Approaches Toward Church: *Smyth* and *Walker*, Eds., 664.
Unity, Pathways to Christian, A Free Church View, 664.

W

West and East: *Moore*, 989.
Willey: Between Two Worlds, 1000.
Wilson: The Church we Forget, 485.

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METHODIST REVIEW

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GEORGE ELLIOTT, Editor

CONTENTS

PAGE

I. John Heyl Vincent: A Sketch. *Lewis H. Vincent, Boston, Mass.* 833

II. The Tercentennial of the Mayflower. *S. Parkes Cadman, D.D., Brooklyn, N. Y.* 855

III. Approximate Equivalents in Religion. *William Herzfeld Warren, D.D., Brookline, Mass.* 861

IV. The Bible Estimate of Woman. *Mrs. Belinda May Bridges, [illegible], Mexico* 872

V. The Religious Characteristics of the Russian Soul. *Rev. [illegible], New York City* 887

VI. Wesley, A Forerunner of Social Reform. *Rev. Frank Gibson Porter, Centerville, Md.* 903

VII. A Plea for Translation—The Epistle to the Hebrews. *Clarence [illegible], Ind.* 919

VIII. The Social Gospel According to John. *Professor Winfield M. Bateh, Baldwin, Kan.* 927

IX. The Book Concern in the Coming Years. *Harold C. Lounsbury, D.D., Book Editor, New York City* 936

X. Liberty of Teaching in Our Schools of Theology. *William Andrew Wood, D.D. (deceased), West Somerville, Mass.* 938

XI. Sight and Insight. *Rev. Oscar L. Joseph, Tottenville, N. Y.* 945

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

Notes and Discussions 957

The Kingdom and the Nations—An Advent Meditation, 957; The Divine Dominion, 960; The [illegible]; The Church and the Saloon, 963.

The Arena 971

In Preparing Peace, 971; Wise Words, 971.

Archæology and Biblical Research 978

Archæological Discoveries, 978.

Foreign Outlook 978

[illegible]; Progress in Japan; The Situation in the Near East, 978; Current Events in the Far East, 980; Wireless Greetings, 980; Lambeth and Geneva, 981.

Book Notices 982

A Reading Course 1001

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